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RAID AND REFORM



# RAID AND REFORM

BY A PRETORIA PRISONER

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AUTHOR OF "IN THE VELDT" BY HARLEY

"Let no one who begins an innovation in a State expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention."

MACHIAVELLI.

WITH TWO ESSAYS ON THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

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TO  
MY MANY SOUTH AFRICAN FRIENDS  
I DEDICATE  
THIS LITTLE BOOK

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## INTRODUCTION

IN the history of the Transvaal several raids have occurred. They have for the most part been made by the Boers into the territories of their neighbours, none of whom have entirely escaped these unwelcome visits. To the south they invaded the Free State, to the west Bechuanaland, to the east Zululand, and to the north an expedition intended for the territories of the Chartered Company was only checked on the banks of the Limpopo, where the Boer leader was arrested. These "incursions" on the four points of the compass, of which no Select Committee could hesitate to record "an absolute and unqualified condemnation," although characterised by a certain broad impartiality, were, fortunately perhaps for the general welfare of South Africa, only successful, and that in a small measure in one instance, the invasion of Zululand.

In 1895 it was given to the Boers themselves to sustain and repel an "incursion."

With the causes of unrest in this young country

which have produced these disturbances, and the history of the more important of them, the following pages deal.

Of the events culminating in the crisis of 1895-96, the crisis itself, and some of the consequences attendant thereon, I have written freely and unreservedly. All trials, imprisonments and inquiries being now at an end, there is no further necessity for silence; and what a participator may feel disposed to say with reference to the motives and actions of himself and others during the occurrence of this now historic incident, may thus find due expression, without prejudice to any one.

Of the Boers themselves I should like to say a friendly word. During a residence, at one time and another, of sixteen years in South Africa, beginning with my boyhood, I have known many of them, and count among their number not a few friends. I have fought side by side with them through a campaign on the Kaffir frontier of the Cape Colony, in which many European lives, including that of my brother, were lost. I have hunted with them, travelled for weeks by waggon with them, and lived amongst them, and I know them to be possessed for the most part by kindly if rugged natures. They have much in common, both in its virtues and defects, with the old Puritan side of the English character, and they

possess much of that grit which is inherent in the British race. There is, I believe, no European race to-day more nearly allied to the British in strong natural characteristics than the Dutch of South Africa. But the isolation of two hundred years has weaned a section of them from civilisation ; and ignorance, and the prejudices arising from ignorance, have been the chief cause of all our troubles with them. Though, in fairness be it said, for these troubles the vacillation of the Colonial Office in bygone years has also been a good deal to blame.

Throughout the Reform movement in Johannesburg, from 1892 onwards, which was in effect for equality of rights among the white men of the country, the feeling was not one of hostility to the Boers ; it was one on behalf of fairplay. And in reform lay the true interests of Boer as well as Uitlander.

I have briefly commented on the Proceedings of the British South Africa Select Committee, and in doing so I have been guided both by my personal knowledge of "the Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion " and also by my own observation as a spectator during the greater portion of the inquiry in the Committee Room at Westminster.

The first of the following essays, in the form of a historical review, contains at its conclusion a state-

ment of the position as it appeared to the writer in Johannesburg in December 1895, which was published in *The Star* at the time just before the crisis. "The Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion" and the period of imprisonment are then dealt with.

Of the last two essays on the Antiquity of man in South Africa, there is little need be said in the shape of preface. They are the result of some research and reading in less troubled times than those recently experienced in the Transvaal; and on the advice of some literary friends I have inserted them for the perusal of such readers as may feel an interest in the dawn of aboriginal native life in the country. They formed the basis of a paper which I read before the British and American Archæological Society in Rome last February, a *précis* of which appeared in the Journal of the Society's proceedings.

ALFRED P. HILLIER.

30, WIMPOLE STREET, LONDON, W.

*December, 1897.*

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# RAID AND REFORM

## THE TRANSVAAL AND ITS STORY

*A Historical Review, down to the Year 1894*

YOUNG and growing countries have but little time for the production of literature, and South Africa is no exception to this rule. Nevertheless, South Africa has produced a historian of talent, patriotism, and industry in McColl Theal. In five goodly volumes Mr. Theal has recorded for the benefit of his own and succeeding generations the history of South Africa from its earliest times in the fifteenth century down to the year 1872. It is a history full of incident and interest, clearly and truthfully written, and I can cordially recommend it to South African readers. For the purpose of this Review, however, I propose confining myself to that portion of the work which deals with the history of the emigrant farmers, who, leaving the Cape Colony in 1836 and 1837, gradually dispersed themselves over

the country to the north of the Orange River and in Natal. Previous to this date, in the early thirties, several English missionaries, traders, and hunters had visited these territories, and were familiar with the country as far north as the Limpopo. Among them were the Rev. Dr. Moffat, David Hume from Grahamstown, Captain Sutton, and Captain Cornwallis Harris, whose wonderfully illustrated work on the fauna of South Africa is so well known to naturalists and hunters. We find, however, that in 1837, Commandant Potgieter, at the head of a Boer commando, after a successful encounter with Moselikatse, issued a proclamation formally annexing a large tract of country including the present South African Republic.

While the limits of a Review will not allow of a full investigation of the causes which led to the extreme friction between the trek Boers and the British authorities, it is, I think, necessary to refer to one of the most prominent of them, as it was not only one of the original causes of the trek from the Cape Colony, but has been a constant source of irritation both north and south of the Orange River since. This has been an excessive and frequently misdirected zeal on the part of missionaries and others on behalf of the native races. To South African farmers—Dutch and English alike—who are in daily contact with these races, and who have

only too good reason to know what the real nature of the South African savage is, it has been extremely galling to have to hear from European missionaries and others constant complaints and frequently exaggerated charges made against farmers generally to the authorities in Downing Street, who, in former years, showed themselves only too ready to defer to the demands of the Exeter Hall party. That these same farmers, as a body, are nevertheless capable of dealing with the natives in a firm and at the same time considerate manner, is shown by the status of the native in the Free State. Here the first of all essentials in the treatment of natives is observed, and drink is forbidden. Such a thing as a drunken native is almost unknown in the Free State; their locations are as a consequence cleanly and comfortable, and if these things be not Godliness, they are with the savage the first true step towards it. The pious horror of Exeter Hall has not succeeded in stopping the native liquor traffic in British colonies. After the first settlement in the Transvaal fresh families continued to come in, and the districts of Lydenburg, Potchefstroom, and Rustenburg were formed, each with a separate commandant.

The district and township of Pretoria were founded in 1855. These earlier years of this northern Republic were stormy times for the emigrant farmers; their hearts were great, their aspirations high, and

in endeavouring to spread themselves over huge tracts of country they met with terrible losses from fever and from the numerous Kaffir tribes with which they came into conflict. The tragedy of Dingaan's Day, when Piet Retief and sixty-five followers were treacherously massacred to a man while on an expedition into Natal, will never be forgotten while South Africa has a history. Nor will the fate of that gallant little band of Englishmen, seventeen in number, who with some fifteen hundred native allies marched on the Zulu army from Durban to avenge the fate of their Dutch friends. Four of the Englishmen survived, the rest lay dead on the field of battle. The Zulu force was 7,000 strong, but Theal says: "No lion at bay ever created such havoc among hounds that worried him as this little band caused among the warriors of Dingaan before it perished."

The boundaries of the Transvaal Republic were at length practically determined by the establishment of the British in Natal and in the Orange Sovereignty after the battle of Boomplaats, in which Sir Harry Smith defeated the Boer force. The subsequent withdrawal from the Orange Sovereignty of the British Government against the wishes of a large number of inhabitants brought into existence the Orange Free State.

In 1844 a code of thirty-three articles was drawn

up and adopted by the Volksraad at Potchefstroom, and this was practically the Constitution in existence in the Transvaal Republic till the year 1857. At this date an event memorable in the history of the Republic occurred, an event highly interesting from a constitutional point of view, and of special interest to those—not yet citizens of the State—resident in Johannesburg. In 1857 the Republic north of the Vaal attained its twentieth year. It had increased in population, and had taken on to some extent the habits and modes of life of a settled community. Mr. Pretorius and his followers began to feel that in the altered circumstances of the State the time had arrived for a remodelling of the Constitution. Among these followers of Pretorius, these advocates for reform, it is interesting to find, was Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, now President of the Transvaal. Mr. Theal says: “During the months of September and October, 1856, Commandant-General W. M. Pretorius made a tour through the districts of Rustenburg, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom, and called public meetings at all the centres of population. At these meetings there was an expression of opinion by a large majority in favour of an immediate adoption of a Constitution which should provide for an efficient Government and an independent Church.” And again, later on, we have, in the words of South Africa’s historian,

the gist of the complaint against the then existing state of things. "*The community of Lydenburg was accused of attempting to domincer over the whole country, without any other right to pre-eminence than that of being composed of the earliest inhabitants, a right which it had forfeited by its opposition to the general weal.*"

Such was the shocking state of things in this country in 1856. It was a great deal too bad for such champion reformers as Mr. Pretorius and his lieutenant, Mr. S. J. P. Kruger, as we shall see later on. Shortly after these meetings were held, a Representative Assembly, consisting of twenty-four members, one for each field-cornetcy, was elected, for the special purpose of framing a Constitution and installing the officials whom it should decide to appoint. It had no other powers. The representatives met at Potchefstroom on the 16th December, 1856, and drafted a Constitution. I will not go into the details of this Constitution, but will merely remark with regard to it that all the people of the State of European origin—and not a mere section of them—were to elect the Volksraad, in which was vested the legislative power.

On January 5th, 1857, the Representative Assembly appointed Mr. Marthinus Wessels Pretorius President, and also appointed members of an Executive Council. In order to conciliate the

people of Zoutpansberg, the Commandant of their district, Mr. Stephanus Schoeman, was appointed Commandant-General. They chose a flag—red, white, blue and green. The oaths of office were then taken, the President and executive installed, and the flag hoisted.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg there was a violent outburst of indignation. At a public meeting at Zoutpansberg, the acts and resolutions of the Representative Assembly at Potchefstroom were almost unanimously repudiated. Mr. Schoeman declined to accept office under Mr. Pretorius, and a Manifesto disowning the new Constitution and everything connected with it was drawn up. The Government then issued a proclamation deposing Commandant-General Schoeman from all authority, declaring Zoutpansberg in a state of blockade, and prohibiting traders from supplying "the rebels" with ammunition or anything else.

This conduct on the part of the new Government under Mr. Pretorius appears to me distinctly adroit. Having taken upon themselves to remodel the entire Constitution of the country, they turn round on the adherents of the older Government, whom by the bye, they had not thought it worth while to consult, and promptly call them "rebels." And so you have this striking political phenomenon of a

revolutionary party turning on the adherents of the Government of the State and denouncing them, forsooth, as "rebels."

What matter for the student of Democracy does not this incident afford? Here you have the democratic spirit carried to its extreme point, to its logical conclusion. What did these hardy Republicans think? What did they say among themselves? They said, "We, the people of the country, are the sovereign power of the country; what the majority of us determine on is what we have a right to demand, is what we will have." By the people and for the people was the instinct which dominated them and guided all their movements. The old Government no longer represented the majority of the people, it must give way to the one that did. There was but one appeal; it was to the sovereign power—the people themselves. They declared for a new order of things, a new Government, and all who resisted it became in their eyes rebels, even though, as we have seen, they were loyal to the original Government of the country. Loyalty! there was but one loyalty they knew,—loyalty to the common weal, loyalty to the people of the country. "The Volksraad under the old system of Government was to have met at Lydenburg on December 17th, 1856. At the appointed time, however, no members for the other districts appeared. What



was transpiring at Pochefstroom was well known, and a resolution was therefore adopted declaring the district a Sovereign and Independent State under the name of the 'Republic of Lydenburg.'” And thus two Republics, two Volksraads, two Governments, were formed and existed simultaneously in the Transvaal. And all this without a shot being fired, each party finding sufficient relief to their feelings by calling the other party “rebels.”

In order to strengthen their position the party of Pretorius now determined on a bold stroke. They sent emissaries to endeavour to arrange for union with the Free State. The Free State Government rejected their overtures; but Pretorius was led to believe that so many of the Free State burghers were anxious for this union that all that was necessary for him to do in order to effect it was to march in with an armed force. He therefore placed himself at the head of a commando and crossed the Vaal, where he was joined by a certain number of Free State burghers. “When intelligence of this invasion reached Bloemfontein, President Boshof issued a proclamation declaring martial law in force throughout the Free State, and calling out the burghers for the defence of the country. It soon appeared that the majority of the people were ready to support the President, and from all quarters men repaired to Kroonstad.”

At this stage the Free State President received an offer of assistance from General Schoeman, of Zoutpansberg, against Pretorius, in which object he believed Lydenburg would also join. What the precise political status of Zoutpansberg may have been at this crisis I regret to say I have been unable to discover; but the fact of the matter is, in the old days of the Transvaal they thought nothing of an extra Government or two in the country. As long as each individual white man was represented somewhere and somehow he was approximately happy. The one thing he did absolutely decline was being left out altogether, which appears to be the position, by the bye to take a modern example of the little community of some hundred thousand Europeans living on the Rand to-day. The old burgher felt his individuality and respected it; and while powder, shot, and shouting were available to him, he asserted it. "On May 25th the two commandos were drawn up facing each other on opposite banks of the Rhenoster river, and remained in that position for three hours."

Threatened from the north as well as from the south, Pretorius felt his chance of success was small, and he therefore sent out Commandant Paul Kruger with a flag of truce to propose that a pacific settlement should be made. I can quite believe that in this graceful act Mr. Paul Kruger appeared

to great advantage. The treaty arrived at was practically an apology on the part of the South African Republic. Many citizens of the Free State who had joined the northern forces moved over the Vaal after this event. Those who remained, and those who had been previously arrested, were brought to trial for high treason. One man was sentenced to death, but the sentence was mitigated subsequently to a fine, others were fined. These fines were again still further mitigated at the solicitation of Messrs. Paul Kruger and Steyn, until it came to little more than ten pounds each. In fact, I find there was a good deal of mitigation all round at the conclusion of the various political junketings which characterised the early history of these Republics. Shortly after this event Zoutpansberg was incorporated with the Republic, and General Schoeman was appointed Commandant-General of the country. The Republic of Lydenburg followed suit in 1860, after considerable negotiations on both sides. Pretoria was then chosen as the seat of Government.

One might naturally suppose that after such a series of political disturbances as has already been recorded, the new Government would now have a peaceful and assured future. It was united, and founded on the will of the majority of the people. But the spirit of unrest was upon them. One of the principal

causes of disturbance among the Boers was undoubtedly differences of opinion on ecclesiastical matters. At this time, 1858, there came to the country a clergyman named Portma, sent out by the Separatist Church from Holland. The minister settled at Rustenburg, and there founded the first branch of what has since become a famous sect among the Dutch, both in the Free State and Cape Colony as well as the South African Republic, and which is known in South Africa as the Dopper sect. Their principal point of difference from the Reformed Church, was an objection to singing of hymns as part of the Church service. To this sect Mr. Kruger and his immediate followers belong.

In 1860, President Pretorius, then President of the Transvaal, was elected President of the Free State, whither, after obtaining six months' leave of absence, he repaired, in the hope of bringing about union between the two Republics. No sooner had he departed than the old Lydenburg party showed signs of disaffection, protesting that union would confer much greater advantage on the Free State than on them. Mr. Cornelius Potgieter, Landdrost of Lydenburg, then appeared in the Volksraad as the leader of the disaffected party. They contended that it was illegal for any one to be President of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State at the same time, and the upshot was that

Pretorius resigned. Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar, Acting President, was requested by the Volksraad to remain in office. The partisans of Mr. Pretorius hereupon resolved to resist. A mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom, and they resolved unanimously that (a) The Volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence, and must be held as having ceased to exist. (b) That Mr. Pretorius should remain President of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence to bring about union with the Free State. (c) That Mr. S. Schoeman should act as President during the absence of Mr. Pretorius, and Mr. Grobbelaar be dismissed. (d) That before the return of Mr. Pretorius to resume his duties a new Volksraad should be elected.

The complications that ensued on all this were interminable, too complicated for us to follow in detail, but suffice it to say some of the new party were arraigned for treason and fined £100 each—another man £15—that after this for several months there were once more two Acting Presidents and two rival Governments in the South African Republic. Then Commandant Paul Kruger called out the burghers of his district and determined to establish a better order of things.

Having driven Schoeman and his adherents from Pretoria, Commandant Kruger then invested Potchefstroom, which after a skirmish in which three

men were killed and seven wounded in all, fell into his hands. He then pursued Schoeman, who fairly doubled on his opponent, and re-entered Potchefstroom. Commandant Kruger hastily returned, and at this stage President Pretorius interposed. After this followed elections and re-elections until Commandant Jan Viljoen raised the now familiar standard of revolt. He was engaged by Kruger's force, and after a skirmish, in which Viljoen's forces were defeated, Mr. Pretorius again intervened. A conference lasting six days now finally settled matters. Mr. Pretorius took the oaths of office. The Volksraad met in May, 1864. "With this ceremony the civil strife which had so long agitated the Republic ceased. When, a little later on, it was decided that all sentences of banishment, confiscation of property and fines which had been passed for political offences should be annulled, and that whatever had been seized should be restored to its original owner, there was a general feeling of satisfaction." These prolonged civic hostilities were over, but they left their mark behind them. The Treasury was empty, salaries in arrear, and native taxes uncollected. Moreover, the natural enemy of the South African pioneer, whether Dutch or English, the various Kaffir tribes both within and without the Transvaal border, were menacing the Boers. On the Zulu border for a considerable distance from

the frontier the farmers went into laager. Cetewayo was busy reviewing his troops, and in the Wakkerstroom district a commando was assembled ready to repel an invasion. In the early sixties both the Free State and the South African Republic found themselves involved in native wars. Basuto chief Moshesh was the foe whom the Free State had to contend with. Zoutpansberg was the scene of the Transvaal disturbances. In both instances the Kaffirs belong to what Theal describes as the mountain tribes of the Bantu family.

I have referred to the early history of this Republic in some detail because I think it is new to most of us, and because it is full of incident and interest for all of us. What follows is better known to the world. In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government, and was administered first by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and secondly by Sir Owen Lanyon. Some of the principal reasons alleged for this annexation were :—"The increasing weakness of the State as regards its relations with neighbouring native tribes, which invited attack on the country and upon the adjoining British possessions." "The state of anarchy and faction that prevailed in the country." "The danger of invasion by Sekukuni and Cetewayo." "The paucity of public funds with which to cope with this state of things." Of this period of the history of

the country a good deal has been written in a book called *The History of the Transvaal* by John Nixon. The annexation at the outset appears to have been received with mixed feelings. Some strongly approved, some sullenly acquiesced, while the Volksraad sent a deputation to protest in England. Grumbling soon began among the Boers, and meetings were held.

In 1879 Sir Theophilus Shepstone, a South African by birth, and one thoroughly in touch with the Boers, was superseded by Sir Owen Lanyon. Sir Theophilus was always ready to drink a cup of coffee and talk matters over with any disaffected Boer visitor. Sir Owen Lanyon was a stiff-necked British soldier, full of fads and prejudices, and soon felt that he was completely out of touch with the Boer population. Had some constitutional assembly been formed during Shepstone's *régime*, wherein the Boers had full representation and control of their own internal affairs, and Sir Theophilus been retained in office, there are writers who think it probable that peace would have been maintained. But be that as it may, events took a different course. In the meantime, it is worthy of notice that the two great native enemies of the Transvaal, Sekukuni within their borders, and Cetewayo in Zululand, were both attacked and defeated, the former by a force under Sir Garnet Wolseley, the



latter after considerable losses by Lord Chelmsford and Sir Evelyn Wood.

In the Zululand campaign Piet Uys and a small body of Boers from the Republic did good service, Piet Uys, a brave leader, losing his life, but the large body of Boers held aloof. In 1880 affairs in the Transvaal again reached a crisis. According to Nixon, "the levying of taxes on the Boers by an administration in which they were totally unrepresented" was the principal cause. Add to this the attitude of Mr. Gladstone, who, while in opposition, had condemned in unmeasured terms the annexation of the Transvaal, and who had just now come into power, and the case for the Transvaal is an intelligible one. What followed early in 1881 is too well known to need repetition. The British forces under Sir George Colley were hurried up to the Natal frontier, and, without waiting for reinforcements, engaged the Boers and were defeated. After this the policy of retrocession was decided on by the Gladstone Cabinet, and the independence of the Republic recognised, Great Britain, in both the Pretoria and London Conventions, retaining the right to supervise treaties with foreign powers.

We have now to deal with another and important phase of this State's progress and material development. For some years previous to the date at which we have now arrived in our historical review,

gold had been discovered in the Lydenberg district, and this was followed by still further discoveries in 1883, which led to the formation of Moodie's Company and the foundation of Barberton. As the mineral resources of the country became known, new comers poured in, and with their capital and enterprise opened up the mines of that district. Prospecting went on all over the country, and in 1886 gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand district. What that discovery meant for the South African Republic we now know. From being a thinly-populated grazing country, with very little in the way of funds in its State coffers, it has become the wealthiest and most prominent State in South Africa. Its population has been increased four or five fold, and every farmer has been enriched by getting a market in the country for his produce. Farms have risen in value throughout the land; and there is not a burgher to-day who in his heart does not thank heaven for the prosperity which the capital, the energy, and the enterprise of the mining community in the country have brought him.

And yet, what is the political status of the mining men in the country?—the men who provide four-fifths of the revenue, and who have poured wealth alike into the coffers of the Government and the pockets of the farmers. Their position is that they

are allowed to have neither part nor lot in the government of the country. In thus enriching the country it is true this community has materially enriched itself; but wealth is not everything, and it is as demoralising for the Boers as it is for the mining population that all political rights should be withheld from the latter. Men amongst us are reproached for merely getting all the money they can together and then leaving the country. In the first place this is true of only a small minority, and who can blame them for leaving? Entirely shut out from public life, what has the country to offer them to induce them to remain? In any large community there are always a few men in whom the instincts of public service are so strong as to inevitably lead them to become public servants of that community,—men who feel themselves capable and anxious to serve the public, and who for the most part, let the motive be what it will, serve them faithfully and well. Year by year such men as these are driven from this country by the existing state of things.

There is a question which arises in one's mind after this brief review of the history of the country which I think one may fairly address to the Government and burghers of this State: Are they to-day meting out to us the political justice which they have ever insisted upon from the State for themselves?

What induced them or their fathers to frame a new Constitution at Potchefstroom in 1857? The feeling that the majority of the white inhabitants were not properly represented in the Government of the country; the feeling that the community of Lydenburg were attempting to domineer over the whole country without other right to pre-eminence than that of being the oldest inhabitant, a right which it had forfeited by its opposition to the general weal. What was one of the principal causes which led them to throw off the British yoke in 1881? The objection to being taxed by an Administration in which they were unrepresented. Are we not labouring under all these disabilities to-day? The one retort to this is that we are Uitlanders. That is to say, that in a country not yet sixty years old, in which the population has been formed almost entirely by immigration, in which the President himself is an immigrant, the mining community, who have been coming in for at least fifteen years past, and have done more in developing the material resources of the country in that time than was ever conceived in the wildest dreams of the earlier inhabitants, are foreigners. What proportion of the burghers of this State were actually born in the country?—this State, which owes its prosperity and its progress alike to the continuous stream of immigration. The President at least was not born

here. The fact is that what was originally a Republic, and what we hope to see once more a Republic in deed as well as in name, has, by continually tinkering with the franchise law, become an oligarchy.

I have had some little difficulty in obtaining the information with regard to the various alterations in the franchise law, but I am indebted to Mr. Charles Leonard for the following. I gather that originally every white man had a vote. Subsequently every white man not born in South Africa had to pay £15 to get the vote. Later, in 1874, strangers who had no land in the country had to live here one year to get the vote. The acquisition of land qualified them at once. Next, in 1882 burghership could only be obtained after living in the country and being registered on the field-cornets' books for five years and paying £25. In 1887 the law fixed fifteen years and the payment of £25.

In 1890 the Second Volksraad was established. The inestimable boon of a vote for this body, whose decisions are liable to revision by the First Raad, is obtainable after being resident two years, taking the oath and paying £5. At the same time the law was altered to permit admission to the right to vote for the First Raad after ten years, and to become a member after fourteen years. In 1893, without reference to the people, the law was altered so that

we are virtually excluded for ever. The law was confirmed in 1894, and there was added a clause by which children born here cannot get the vote unless their fathers have taken the oath, an oath which, remember, deprives a man of the citizenship of the country he came from, and offers him something less than half citizenship of this in return.

The tendency of this legislation is perfectly clear ; it is from making the franchise difficult to making it impossible for the inhabitants of the Rand. We are growing old as the years go by, and if the Raad wishes to be logical and consistent it will assuredly next Session pass a Bill excluding the grandchildren of Uitlanders. We have sketched the growth of this State from its earliest days to the present time.

*Note.*—The above paper was published in Johannesburg in the *Star* in December, 1895, and contains at the conclusion a statement of the position as it then appeared.

“THE ORIGIN AND CIRCUMSTANCES  
OF THE INCURSION INTO THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC OF AN  
ARMED FORCE ”

“LET no one,” says Machiavelli, “who begins an innovation in a State, expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure or regulate it according to his intention.”

And Machiavelli, who lived in the early days of the small Republics of mediæval Italy, and who had witnessed their intrigues, their corruption, and their decay, knew whereof he was writing.

There seems to be a Nemesis, some mad but watchful Fury, that waits on political reform, that sees with jealousy its every movement, and tarries not in her pursuit.

To Englishmen of this generation, reared in the free air of Anglo-Saxon liberty, she exists but as a shadow—to Machiavelli, the child of political corruption, tyranny, and intrigue, she seemed as some dark spirit of destiny brooding for ever over the freedom

of mankind. Have students of evolution, the philosophy of history, all the science of the ages, discovered any inexorable law of nature? or must we regard it as the irony of fate, whereby all small Republics, as far as history knows them, beginning with those of Greece and including those of mediæval Italy and of South America, inevitably end either in perpetual faction strife, in oligarchy, or in tyranny? That which was founded on the instincts of justice and freedom seems to engender licence, and the greed and ambition of the few govern the destinies of the many. In South Africa the Transvaal during the few decades of its existence has been no exception to the rule.

Despising Anglo-Saxon civilisation, yet with no civilisation of their own to fall back upon, the Boers have hovered between savagery and the civilisation they have in vain endeavoured to forsake.

Having a language, a patois with "neither a syntax nor a literature," the sons of the wealthy are sent to English schools and universities, and English books almost entirely fill the shelves of every library in the country, thus showing that in their hearts they appreciate the civilisation they affect to despise.

Ten years ago the influx of new comers began to settle on the Rand. And as this influx increased and advanced with ever-gaining strides, the Boers



realised that the world and civilisation were once more upon them. In spite of all the opposition that patriarchal prejudice could muster, railways usurped the place of the slow moving ox-waggon, and in the heart of their solitude a city had arisen; while to the north and to the east between them and the sea were drawn the thin red lines of British boundary. The tide of Anglo-Saxon civilisation—that strong ever-flowing current, on whose bosom all barks are borne as freely as on the open sea—had swept around and beyond them to the banks of the Zambesi and to territories even further north in the interior of a continent of whose existence they were but dimly conscious. A primitive pastoral people, they found themselves isolated, surrounded—“shut in a kraal for ever,” as Kruger is reported to have said,—while the stranger was growing in wealth and numbers within their gates. Expansion of territory, once the dream of the Transvaal Boers, as their incursions into Bechuanaland, into Zululand, and the attempted trek into Rhodesia, all testify, was becoming daily less practicable. One thing remained,—to accept their isolation and strengthen it.

Wealth, population, a position among the new States of the world had been brought to them, almost in spite of themselves, by the new comer, the stranger, the Uitlander. What was to be the attitude towards him politically? Materially he had

made the State—he developed its resources, paid nine-tenths of its revenue. Would he be a strength or a weakness as a citizen—as a member of the body politic?

Let us consider this new element in a new State—how was it constituted, what were its component parts? Was it the right material for a new State to assimilate? Cosmopolitan to a degree—recruited from all the corners of the earth—there was in it a strong South African element, consisting of young colonists from the Cape Colony and Natal—members of families well known in South Africa—and many of them old schoolfellows or in some other way known to each other. Then the British contingent, self-reliant, full of enterprise and energy—Americans, for the most part skilled engineers, miners and mechanics—French, Germans, and Hollanders. A band of emigrants, of adventurers, and constituted, as I think all emigrants are, of two great classes—the one who, lacking neither ability nor courage, are filled with an ambition, characteristic particularly of the British race, to raise their status in the world, who find the conditions of their native environment too arduous, the competition too keen, to offer them much prospect, and who seek a new and more rapidly developing country elsewhere; and another, a smaller class, who sometimes through misfortune, sometimes through their own

fault, or perhaps through both, have failed elsewhere. Adventurers all, one must admit ; but it is the adventurers of the world who have founded States and Kingdoms. Such a class as this has been assimilated by the United States and absorbed into their huge fabric, of which to-day they form a large and substantial portion. What should the Transvaal Boers have done with this new element so full of enterprise and vigour? This had been for the last ten years the great question for them to solve. Have they desired merely a political monopoly for a passing generation of men from the very nature of their lives and training but poorly qualified for the sole control and conduct of the affairs of a rapidly developing country—or have they desired to lay the foundation of a permanent State, a true Republic, that might be sustained and upheld by those very principles of democracy which inspired and guided the Boer voortrekkers in the State's foundation? Hitherto they had steadily and with ever-increasing determination sought only political monopoly. Enfranchisement, participation in the political life of the State by the Uitlander,—this means, they said, a transference of all political power from our hands to those of men whom we do not trust. “I have taken a man into my coach,” said President Kruger, “and as a passenger he is welcome ; but now he says, Give me the reins ; and that

I cannot do, for I know not where he will drive me." To the Boer it is all or nothing ; he knows no mean, no compromise. Yet in that very mean lies the vital spirit of republicanism. What is the position of the Boers in the Cape Colony? Are they without their share, their influence, their Africander bond in the political affairs of the country? And so it is throughout the world to-day,—in the United States, in England, in France, in the British Colonies, wherever the individual thrives and the State is prosperous—the compromise of divided political power among all classes, all factions, is the great guarantee of their well being. To this end all political evolution moves; and whether it finds expression in a Republic or in an ancient Monarchy, "broad based upon the people's will"—will move while civilisation continues.

So trite are these reflections that one almost hesitates to record them; and yet so many are the admirers of the so-called sagacity of the Boer—so many who take the "all or nothing view"—that a restatement of them can do no harm.

That the enfranchisement of the Uitlander would mean a complete transference of political power into his hands involves two assumptions: the first is that the Uitlanders would form a united body in politics; the second is that their representatives would dominate the Volksraad. The most superficial

acquaintance with the action of the inhabitants of the Witwatersrand district on any public matter will serve to refute the first of these, while it is a well-recognised fact that there are amongst the Uitlanders—among the South Africans especially—a large number of men whose sympathies with the Boers on many matters would run directly counter to what one might describe as those of the ultra-English section.

The second of these assumptions—though it is continually put forward—almost answers itself. The number of representatives from the Uitlander districts under any scheme of redistribution of seats which the Boer could reasonably be expected to make would fall considerably short of those returned from the Boer constituencies.

Such was the attitude of the Boers on this vital question which led to the Reform Movement of 1895; and I have stated what I believe to be the injustice of it as regards the Uitlanders and the unwisdom of it in the true interests of the Boers.

I shall now deal with the Reform Movement itself, endeavouring to trace its real origin and object. The movement ended in a drama which attracted the attention of the world for more than a year, and to the proper understanding of which the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee of Enquiry. Before the Committee facts have been laid bare,

misrepresentations and misconception, and in some instances the injustice resulting from them, removed. And the evidence recorded, together with the reports thereon, fill 600 pages of a Parliamentary Blue Book.

The Committee appointed was constituted as follows:—The Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster), Mr. Bigham, Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Chamberlain), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks Beach), Mr. Cripps, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. John Ellis, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. George Wyndham; and they formed a strong and able and a representative Committee of the House of Commons.

It was to the circumstances, rather than to the origin of the incursion, that the Committee devoted its most assiduous attention; and with reference to them and the degrees of responsibility for different actions attaching to different persons, its findings, the result of exhaustive examination of witnesses, are clearly and impartially stated in their Report.

The task was no ordinary one, and of the many issues involved there were some on which the Committee concentrated their attention. The reputation of the Colonial Office had been impugned; the responsibility of Mr. Rhodes had to be deter-

mined; were the Chartered Company Directors implicated, and if so to what extent? A conspiracy was to be unmasked, a mystery to be unravelled, and to the questions which might involve this person or that, punctilious points of immaculacy in a Duke or a Colonial Office official, the Committee addressed itself with zeal, and with some suspicion of the relish which ladies bestow on a new-fledged scandal. Moreover they had amongst them a notorious gossip—Mr. Henry Labouchere.

They confessed Charles Leonard rather bored them; but the missing cables—Miss Flora Shaw,—here is matter indeed, my masters!

They resolved at the outset to divide their labours into two parts, and the first was, in the terms of the Order from the House of Commons, to “inquire into the origin and circumstances of the incursion into the South African Republic of an armed force.” Within the “origin” of that incursion, came the history of the Reform Movement in the Transvaal; and it must ever remain a matter of some reproach to the Committee that while they accorded to Mr. Schreiner, who probably has not spent more than a month in his life within the Transvaal, no less than nearly four sittings wherein to record his political views and demonstrate his ignorance of the true Uitlander position, they confined Mr. Charles Leonard, and that under distinct

pressure from the Chairman, to less than a single sitting. He is a South African by birth, and has, no less than Mr. Schreiner, both talent and patriotism. To the question of reform in the Transvaal during a residence of several years he has given unremitting attention and conspicuous ability, and he was the man of all others qualified to record in accurate detail the history of the movement which was the principal factor in the "origin of the incursion," and which it was the function of the Committee clearly to ascertain.

That the Committee did not deal as systematically with the "origin of the incursion" as was desirable in the true interests of the inquiry was, however, the fault of the Opposition rather than of the Government members. The Government itself being indirectly implicated through the charges made against the Colonial Office, the Government members, in their desire for the fullest inquiry, placed no check on the cross-examinations of witnesses by the Opposition members, and these form the bulk of the evidence taken.

The Opposition members did not exhibit the same impartial spirit when witnesses were being examined on the history of the Reform Movement in Johannesburg—and of this, their interruptions during Mr. Leonard's evidence, which called forth a remonstrance from Mr. Chamberlain, was a striking



instance. Mr. Labouchere's presence on the Committee, which at least in character should have been a judicial one, was an anomaly at the outset ; and his retention thereon after his retraction of, and apology for, charges made under cover of privilege in the House of Commons, seemed to the lay mind unacquainted with the ways of Parliament and its Committees, almost a scandal. The members of the Committee who showed most regard for the terms of the Order from the House of Commons were Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Bigham.

But while one cannot help regretting that the proportion of time allotted to Mr. Leonard in which to give his evidence was not greater, one must admit on perusing the official record of it that he made the most of his opportunity. With quiet persistence he told his story, adroitly evading the irrelevant questions of the Opposition, and bringing out with clearness and emphasis the main points of the position which had culminated in the disaster of December, 1895.

From the earliest settlement on the Rand down to 1892 the Uitlander had continued to hope that something like political equality on a fair basis would be obtained. In 1892 the National Union was formed, and at its meetings enthusiastic crowds attended, while speakers from among the Pretoria Dutch residents, notably Mr. Esselen, an ex-Judge of the High Court, and Mr. Wessels, a well-known

Pretoria advocate, were among those who addressed the meeting, expressing their sympathy for the desire of the Uitlander to attain to citizen rank.

From 1892 to 1895 the history of the Reform Movement in Johannesburg was practically the work done by the National Union and its adherents—unaided, and even be it said discouraged, by the capitalists, who held aloof. Petitions to the Government were sent in year after year. Resolutions calling for some amelioration in the conditions of the franchise law, the dynamite trade, education, and the courts of justice were passed both at the National Union meetings and by other public bodies—but all without avail. And not merely without avail—matters did not even stand still: they went steadily back. What had been possible when men entered the country was made impossible to them a few years later. And it was this *retrogressive legislation*, this *actual setting back of the hands of the clock*, that convinced men of the hopelessness of the position, that exasperated them even to conspiracy.

Facts showing this retrogressive movement have been set forth in Mr. Charles Leonard's printed statement, and in some sense made public; but opportunity was not given to put them clearly in evidence before the Committee of Inquiry, and thus points of the most vital importance to the subject of the inquiry have been left out of that evidence, and the actual retrogression in Boer Legislation

is not even referred to in the Committee's Report. As the Franchise Law stood in 1882, to quote from Mr. Leonard's printed statement, "it was enacted that in order to become naturalised and acquire full citizenship the new comer should have resided in the country for a period of five years, and should have been registered on the field-cornets' list for that period, and should pay a sum of twenty-five pounds." A provision, restrictive undoubtedly, but not wholly unreasonable. But mark what follows.

"In 1890 a new departure was made. A law was passed in that year providing for the creation of a Second Chamber, called the Second Volksraad, to the powers and constitution of which further reference will be made hereafter. It was enacted that aliens could acquire the right to vote for members of the Second Chamber after having been registered upon the field-cornets' list and having resided in the country for a period of two years. They had to renounce their allegiance to their own country, and to take the oath of allegiance to the Transvaal, and to pay the sum of five pounds for the privilege. After having been eligible to vote for the Second Chamber for a period of two years, the new-fledged voter, or naturalised person, as he is called in the Transvaal, became eligible for a seat in such Chamber. It was further provided in the same year

that no person who had been so naturalised could vote for a seat in the *First Volksraad* until the lapse of a period of ten years after he had become eligible for the Second Chamber.

“No one could be a member of the Second Chamber until he was thirty years of age, and it will thus be seen that under no circumstances could a man get the right to vote for the First Chamber until he was at least forty; and during the interval that had elapsed from the period of his naturalisation he would be in the position of having renounced his allegiance to the country of his origin and having rendered himself liable to all the burdens of a citizen, including military service, and that in the meantime he would be deprived of the exercise of the most important rights of citizenship. But even then no one was of *right entitled* to the franchise. He could only get citizenship after fourteen years' residence and compliance with the above provisions, if the *First Volksraad* passed a resolution admitting him, and in pursuance of regulations which have never been framed.”

“With regard to the Second Chamber it must be pointed out that this body bears no such relation to the *First Volksraad* as its name might at first sight imply. Its powers of legislation are strictly defined. It has no power to enforce its own acts, and no control whatever over the First Chamber.

All its acts and resolutions must be submitted to the First Chamber, which has the right to veto them ; and even if not so vetoed they do not acquire the force of law until promulgated by the President, who has the right to withhold such promulgation at his discretion. It need scarcely be added that the Second Chamber has no control whatever over the finances. It cannot be wondered that even ardent South African patriots like the late John Cilliers should have described the Second Raad as a mockery and a sham, and that the Uitlanders decline to regard it as of any real benefit to them."

A sham and a mockery indeed, a withdrawal of the substance and a substitution for ever by statute of the shadow! John Cilliers was not the only Transvaal burgher and patriot who saw with indignation and foreboding this retrogressive action. Let us take the testimony of Mr. Esselen in 1892 on the platform of the National Union. Mr. Esselen began his political career as a prominent member of the Africander Bond in the Cape House of Assembly ; he was then made a Judge of the High Court in the Transvaal, and having resigned that position took an active part in the politics of the country. On the occasion referred to at a meeting in Johannesburg he said : " I agree with this movement. I may tell you I am in entire accord with the movement of the National Union, and I am proud to be

asked to say a few words. I wish to ask you whether you can give any credence to the statement of a man (President Kruger), who says he is going to unite two people, when the whole of his acts for the last ten years show it is absolutely untrue. I do not speak without knowing what I am talking about—I say you have been kept out of your political privileges, not because the people have kept you out from fear that your being granted these privileges would wreck or endanger the independence of this country, but to enable a few, and a greedy few, to rule the country for their ends.”

Other matters there were innumerable that attracted, nay, even demanded the attention of every thoughtful man, Uitlander or burgher, in the country during the years from 1890 to 1895. I have placed the Franchise question first—and for assigning it that position, there is, as we have seen, abundant reason given from intelligent and patriotic burghers themselves. The redress of all other evils was too obviously dependent on the redress of this one, and compared with it they became matters of secondary importance. Among them, however, were matters of such moment as an absence of municipal financial control for municipal purposes; the dynamite monopoly, an iniquitous tax on the great industry of the country; an education law, which, out of the revenue furnished to the State by the Uitlander,

provided in effect solely for the children of the Dutch; and anomalies with reference to the administration of justice whereby in the first place all juries were taken from the Dutch burghers, so that an Englishman living in the midst of a large English speaking community was not even accorded a jury of his fellow-citizens. And then, finally, a continual tampering with the Grondwet—the Constitution of the country—by resolutions hastily passed in the Volksraad which not only kept in perpetual uncertainty the position of every man in the State, but even threatened, and that in no uncertain manner, the independence and stability of that last refuge of the Uitlander, the Courts of Justice themselves.

So menacing did the position of affairs appear—even to the Chief Justice of the Republic—a man who at the last Presidential election was supported as a candidate for the Presidency—that in October, 1894, he felt it his duty to issue to the burghers, in words which will remain memorable in the history of the Republic, a solemn warning. The address was delivered at Rustenburg, and from it we shall do well to consider a few extracts: “No one who for a moment considers the condition of things in the State will deny that the country is at present in a very critical position. The unmistakable signs of an approaching change are apparent on every side. It entirely depends upon the people whether

the impending change is to take place peaceably, or to be accompanied with violence. Do not let us close our eyes and ears to the truth. The people should thoroughly understand the true position of things. I repeat what I have just said,—the non-observance of and departure from the Grondwet menaces the independence of the State.” “The country has a Constitution, and must be governed by its precepts, and in a statesmanlike manner. Let me repeat here what I said in 1892.” “How frequently have we not seen that the Grondwet, which as the Constitution ought to stand on an entirely different footing from our ordinary law, has nevertheless been varied and treated as such? Many a time has the Grondwet been altered by a simple resolution of the Legislature. By this means many a radical, and I am afraid often unwise change has been brought about in the Constitution. This objectionable and unstatesmanlike mode of procedure can no longer be followed without impairing the progress and jeopardising the independence of the State.” “The trek spirit has well nigh become extinct, the Republic has its beacons and boundaries which, with the exception of our Eastern border, can no longer be extended. In the wise dispensation of Providence everything has its proper season. It is remarkable that, although our mineral treasures have for ages existed in the



country, they have only recently been discovered and developed (by the Uitlander). It is equally remarkable that soon after we had to experience a movement (by Mr. Cecil Rhodes) which has definitely fixed the Limpopo as our northern boundary. These facts, together with the daily increasing population and the many complications arising therefrom, indicate that we must more than ever devote our attention upon our internal and domestic affairs. There is but one safe course to follow in dealing with public matters under the altered conditions,—the country must be ruled in accordance with the recognised rules of Constitutional Government.”

Further on in this same speech, the spirit in which a Volksraad Committee appointed to revise and piece together the Grondwet “devoted its attention to these same internal and domestic affairs,” is somewhat severely commented on by the Chief Justice. Referring to their labours and the new draft Grondwet submitted to the Volksraad by them, he says it “contained such important radical and dangerous provisions that, had they been adopted, I do not hesitate to say the independence of the country would have come to an end,” “the Courts of Justice from the lowest to the highest in the land would have been so affected in the independent exercise of their functions that it would simply have been an impossibility to have dispensed justice

between man and man without fear or prejudice. The altered provisions in question assign powers and functions to the Executive and the Legislature which at present belong exclusively to the Courts of Justice. The very safe and constitutional relation which, according to the Grondwet, existed between the three great powers" (Legislative, Executive and Judicial), or "departments in the State would have been so violated that the Courts of Justice would have tottered to their deepest foundations. The liberty, property, and other rights of people would have been placed in the greatest jeopardy, aye, the very independence of the Republic, which is so inseparably connected with the independence of the Courts of Law, would thereby, as I have already observed, have come to an end."

We had not been privileged to see this new Grondwet; and by some miracle we had hitherto escaped its enforcement; the Volksraad was apparently in a cautious mood, and "these dangerous changes," recommended to them by a Committee chosen to deal with the subject, were rejected. The incident is, however, sufficiently significant of the feeling of unrest which the Volksraad was calculated to engender among every section of the community.

It was in 1894 also that occurred the commandeering incident. Englishmen, although accorded no civil rights, were commandeered to serve in the

Malaboch Campaign. Five of them in Pretoria refusing to go were imprisoned; they appealed to the High Court, but their liability to service was upheld; they were then taken under compulsion to the front. This caused the greatest indignation throughout the Uitlander community, and induced even the British Government to take action. Sir Henry Loch was despatched to Pretoria, and a pledge was given that no further commandeering of British subjects should occur. It was on this occasion that Sir H. Loch is reputed to have asked how many rifles the Uitlanders could muster.

Another and continual source of irritation not only to the South Africans among the Uitlanders, but even among the burghers themselves, was the employment by the Executive of young freshly imported Hollanders to fill so many of the lucrative offices both high and low in the State, to the exclusion of South Africans, many of whom had enjoyed the advantage of university education, who were imbued with a genuine love for the country and who naturally regarded the public offices arising out of the development of South Africa as a heritage for her sons. The Hollanders introduced by the Government were more truly foreigners to the burghers in language, in manner of life and in the type of their civilisation than even the most lately arrived Englishman. The educated South African

Dutchman is to all intents and purposes an Englishman : he reads English literature, English is his daily language, and he has the English love of athletics and field sports. To the Hollander neither the cricket bat nor the polo stick is a joy, nor is his literature that of Whyte-Melville or of Shakespeare.

Of the corruption and abuses in the public administration I do not propose to burden this book with details. Their record has been revealed often enough ; they were, as the world well knows, one more continual source of exasperation. In the Volksraad itself it is only fair to say that there has always been a small minority of some few men who held enlightened views and a more far seeing patriotism. And among them must be remembered by the Uitlanders with some measure of gratitude such men as Mr. Carl Jeppe, Mr. Loveday and Mr. Lucas Meyer.

Before concluding our brief review of events as they occurred in the Transvaal in rapid and even alarming succession between the years 1890 and 1895, some reference to one of the most prominent, energetic and public-spirited men among the Uitlander community itself is necessary. Mr. Lionel Phillips was the senior resident partner in the wealthy house of Eckstein, and for four years 1892-95 was President of the Chamber of Mines. In common with other capitalists he held aloof from the political agitation which was proceeding under the

auspices of the National Union until towards the end of 1895. Nevertheless, as President of the Chamber of Mines, and as a private citizen he never ceased pressing upon the Government the urgent necessity for redress with regard to the material burdens upon the industry; and as a member of the Council of Education he assisted both with money and personal supervision the furthering of its end.

In 1895 the monster petition praying in respectful terms for admission to the Franchise, signed by 38,500 people, was presented to the Volksraad. It was rejected with jeers and with insult. Such then was the position of affairs in the middle of 1895. And looking back on it all, with its opposing forces of stern unbending prejudice and ignorance on the one hand, and of an outraged democracy demanding the common rights of man on the other, it was, one must admit, a scene not unfamiliar to the pages of history. And it was a pretty quarrel as it stood. At this time the sympathy of the Progressive party among the Boers themselves, including, as we have seen, that of the Chief Justice of the country, the enlightened minority in the Volksraad, and many educated burghers throughout the land, was with the Uitlander cause. The irritation amongst the Cape Colonists, English and Dutch alike, over the recent question of the arbitrary closing of the Drifts (Fords) on the main wagon roads between the Cape

Colony and the Transvaal, where they cross the Vaal River, was profound, and, as we now know, far reaching. So far had matters gone that towards the end of the year an arrangement was come to between the English and Cape Colonial Governments, whereby, in the event of what was nothing less than an ultimatum to the Boer Government not attaining its end in compelling them to throw open the Drifts, the two Governments undertook to share the expenses of a joint military expedition to the Transvaal.

The ultimatum did attain its end, and the Drifts were thrown open ; but the incident was a significant one, and will show how near England then was to a policy of "an incursion into the South African Republic of an armed force."

After the rejection of the monster petition of 1895 the men of Johannesburg realised once and for all that, whatever else might come, to look for redress of their grievances by constitutional means was about as hopeless as would be the prospects of a syndicate which had for its object the pegging out of another main reef on the surface of the moon. In some sense the time seemed ripe for action, in another and a very vital one it was not. Politically, affairs had reached their nadir as far as one could see, but financially they were far from it ; the mines were in full work, the market was buoyant, and men

were earning good incomes and big wages. Successful revolutions are usually accomplished on empty stomachs, and this element was wanting.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who had practically fixed the Limpopo as the northern boundary of the Transvaal, while he had stretched that of the British Empire to beyond the Zambesi ; accustomed as he was to success, quick movement and rapid developments, in his great career ; had, to his credit, watched with impatient eyes the setting back of the clock within the South African Republic. His chief lieutenant, Dr. Jameson, who had shared with him the labour of reclaiming from barbarism and developing Rhodesia, and whose ambition was no less than his superiors, discussed with him the desirability of some active outside pressure ; and between them was evolved what is known as the Jameson plan. Mr. Beit, the capitalist, most largely interested in the mines of the Rand, an old financial colleague of Mr. Rhodes, both in the De Beers amalgamation and in the establishment of the Chartered Company, promised both his influence and his purse in support of the plan. Overtures were then made to Mr. Lionel Phillips, who was at the head of the Chamber of Mines, and Mr. Charles Leonard, the Chairman of the National Union ; and, as a review of the preceding events will show, they came to them in a very tempting hour.

In the light of subsequent events it is not difficult to be wise on this question ; it is a simple and indeed an orthodox attitude to condemn both the tender and the acceptance of these seductive proposals, and to be impartial it is right we should consider the views held by a few enlightened South Africans. With the internal movement going on in the Transvaal for the obtaining of reform, they said when the Jameson plan first came to their notice in Johannesburg, the whole of South Africa and the world at large have every sympathy. The enlightened opinion among the Boers themselves is with you, and for that matter even expects a disturbance, possibly a rebellion, over the great question of the Franchise. In such a quarrel with the Government, it is doubtful if Kruger could get the burghers to take action, so strong is the sense among many of them of the anomalous position of Johannesburg. In any case the position cannot long remain unchanged, a solution must assuredly come. And if you *must* take action, rely upon yourselves, the justice of the cause, close down the mines, let the men go to Pretoria in a body and demand their rights. Any harsh measures under these conditions will be resented by the British Government, and the Boers know it ; but if you accept foreign aid, if chartered troops enter the country, the Boers will be welded as one man, all



political anomalies will be forgotten, they will see only the independence of their country menaced, the Englishmen again invading the Transvaal; the Free State will be with them; your cause will be a lost one. And these views were not without wisdom.

They were right in foreseeing the dangers and impolicy of the Jameson plan; they were wrong in expecting any substantial redress from the Boer Executive except under absolute compulsion. Both Mr. Phillips and Mr. Leonard were aware, if any men could be, of all the difficulties and the dangers of the situation. Mr. Rhodes was at that time at the very zenith of his power and of his reputation. He had shown himself a master of statecraft and diplomacy in dealing with men both in the English political and financial worlds and in South Africa, and any proposal emanating from him therefore carried with it the prestige which only one of the most able and most successful men of his generation could give it. Moreover, what a tower of strength his unique position made him,—Premier of the Cape Colony, Managing Director of the British South Africa Company, Chairman of De Beers: here was an ally indeed! The plan at this early stage was presented in a very attractive form. A force under Dr. Jameson was to be quietly gathered on the border. The Johannesburg agitation, reinforced with

capitalist support, was to be steadily pushed forward. Rifles and ammunition were to be smuggled into Johannesburg. Both the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office might be counted on, it was said, to support a vigorous forward movement for reform. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Leonard, sick and weary of the hopelessness of unsupported constitutional action, and of the continual set back in Boer politics, already casting round in their minds for some new departure, accepted and from that time forth co-operated with Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson in the development of the Jameson plan.

In October, 1895, a meeting took place at Grootte Schuur, Mr. Rhodes' residence near Cape Town, at which were present, in addition to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Lionel Phillips, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Charles Leonard, and Colonel Frank Rhodes. At this meeting the plan was more fully discussed and matured; and in November, 1895, when Dr. Jameson visited Johannesburg, the details were finally settled. The letter of invitation was written, signed and handed to Dr. Jameson, and the date of combined action provisionally fixed for the end of December. Dr. Jameson's force was to be about 1,000 strong, and the start to be made when finally summoned by the signatories of the letter. In the meantime the Johannesburg leaders were to have sent in to them 4,500 rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of

ammunition, and were, if possible, to arrange for an attack on the Pretoria Arsenal simultaneously with the move from outside.

With regard to the letter of invitation which was subsequently used by Dr. Jameson as a justification for his start, there has, unfortunately, been a good deal of misunderstanding. It is now entirely a matter which concerns Dr. Jameson and the signatories of that letter which they gave him during the final arrangement of the plan in November, and without reference to others than themselves. But as it has been the subject of very careful inquiry on the part of the Select Committee, and as they have recorded their finding thereon in the body of their Report, it is only fair to the signatories of the letter to refer to it.

The Select Committee's Report reads as follows—  
“As soon as the preparations were well advanced towards the latter end of November, 1895, Dr. Jameson, who had been with Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town, went to Johannesburg and procured a letter signed by Mr. C. Leonard, Colonel Rhodes, Mr. L. Phillips, Mr. J. H. Hammond, and Mr. G. Farrar. Mr. Leonard has stated that he was very reluctantly a party to giving this letter of invitation to Dr. Jameson; and he has said in effect that it was given to afford a pretext which might justify Dr. Jameson with the Directors of the Chartered Com-

pany, and induce the officers and men to join him in the raid. This letter was shown to Mr. Rhodes by Dr. Jameson on his return to Cape Town; and upon December 20th, 1895, Mr. Rhodes asked to be supplied with a copy. Mr. Leonard, Colonel Rhodes, and Mr. Phillips have all distinctly stated that this letter was never intended as an authority to Dr. Jameson to enter the Transvaal, unless and until he received a further summons from them."

Such was in brief the history of the Jameson plan as far as concerned Johannesburg. And it is necessary here to refer to the position with regard to it of the bulk of the men who subsequently constituted the Reform Committee. They at this time, with the exception of a few of their number, of which I personally was one, were entirely ignorant of what was going on. It was obvious that in such a plan as this the utmost secrecy was necessary; and the Johannesburg leaders, relying on the general sentiment of the community, assumed the responsibility of arranging a basis of operations. So that the plan when it was gradually revealed to various men had either to be accepted by them in its entirety or rejected. There was not much time left for discussion and alteration of plans. Men demanded and received assurance that the movement was to be a Republican one, and in no way to

be an attempt on the independence of the country. A sufficient number of rifles were also to be forthcoming, and the High Commissioner was to be on the spot to expedite the adjustment of matters immediately disturbances arose.

There was nothing in Johannesburg itself at a later juncture which caused so much dissatisfaction as what was held to be the inadequate supply of arms and ammunition. Many men held, and strongly expressed the view, that at least 10,000 rifles and an adequate amount of ammunition would be required wherewith to arm Johannesburg. But they had to content themselves with a prospect of 4,500, which later was cut down to 2,500, and another 1,000 which Dr. Jameson was to bring in with him. True, more were to be obtained from the Pretoria Arsenal, but this was rather a counting of chickens still unhatched. It is of course easy enough to criticise this, as it is many other details of the scheme. It would have been a great thing no doubt to have had, when the time arose, 20,000 rifles to distribute among the eager crowd, but it is only fair to those concerned to consider the difficulties of obtaining them. In the despatch and the receipt of this contraband cargo the greatest precaution had to be observed. Every additional case or oil drum containing rifles added to the risk of detection; while, most exasperating of all (in

fact, there was one of our number who went so far as to declare it constituted a fresh Uitlander grievance), was the prolonged delay in their transit over the Netherlands Railway.

During the month of December was undertaken the extremely difficult work of sounding some of the leading men as to their readiness to support the plan, and every effort consistent with a degree of safety from detection was made at organisation. During November and December there were delivered some memorable speeches, setting forth the Uitlander position and denouncing the Government; but no general public meeting was convened, it being deemed too dangerous to risk a premature and abortive explosion. On December 26th the Manifesto was published in *The Star*. It was a long and exhaustive indictment, drawn up by Mr. C. Leonard, showing the injustice of the Uitlander position, and it concluded as follows:—

*a.* What do we want?

*b.* How shall we get it?

I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, "What do we want?" We want:—

1. The establishment of this Republic as a true Republic.
2. A Grondwet or Constitution, which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them, a Constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration.
3. An equitable Franchise Law and fair representation.
4. Equality of the Dutch and English languages.

5. Responsibility to the Legislature of the heads of the great departments.
6. Removal of religious disabilities.
7. Independence of the Courts of Justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the Judges.
8. Liberal and comprehensive education.
9. An efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension.
10. Free trade in South African products.

This is what we want.

There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th of January, viz., "How shall we get it?" To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment.

(Signed) CHARLES LEONARD,  
*Chairman of the Transvaal National Union.*

In the meantime the course of affairs at head quarters was not running smoothly. The military department under Colonel Rhodes were chafing at the tardy arrival of the arms and ammunition. The men organising the surprise on the Arsenal at Pretoria had reported that the scheme at that moment was entirely impracticable; and they were confirmed in this opinion by an old and trusted officer of Dr. Jameson's, who had distinguished himself in the service of the Chartered Company, and who had been specially sent to Johannesburg to assist and advise in military matters. He stated that to proceed with this scheme at that time would be nothing short of madness.

The Christmas Naachtmaal, a religious festival, was being celebrated in Pretoria, and the town was

thronged with Boers. To crown all came the flag incident, which was a misgiving on the part of a large number of the revolutionary party as to what was to be the true nature of the external support. It had arisen out of messages brought down from Cape Town, which implied that the Jameson aid would be accorded only to a move in favour of the English flag.

Affairs were in a critical position, and a meeting was hurriedly summoned at Colonel Rhodes' house on Christmas day of December, 1895. It was soon obvious that postponement was an imperative necessity; only a portion of the small supply of arms had arrived, the attempt on Pretoria Arsenal was impracticable, and a large section of the Committee refused point blank to proceed any further with the undertaking until positive assurances with regard to the flag question had been received. Under these circumstances Mr. C. Leonard and Mr. Hamilton were despatched to Cape Town to confer with Mr. Rhodes.

It has been suggested that the importance of the flag incident was exaggerated; but it must be borne in mind that it was not merely a question of what men felt on the subject of English or Republican rule—it was a question of what they were pledged to. The movement within the Transvaal had from its outset been one in favour, not of a British



Colony, but of a sound Republic. It was the one practicable basis on which it had been found possible to secure some sort of political union among a cosmopolitan community; and on this ground it had been adopted. Many Americans and South Africans had accorded their support only on this understanding, and it mattered not what a man's affection for the Union Jack might be; he had accepted the National Union Manifesto, and he was in honour bound to abide by it. No one will accuse Colonel Rhodes of ultra-Republican views, but in this instance he felt the obligation of his position, and frankly said so. The ground on which numbers of men had been induced to join the movement could not be departed from. On the following day Dr. Jameson duly received a telegram from Johannesburg, advising him that it was "absolutely necessary to postpone flotation."

As the Johannesburg postponement has been the subject of a good deal of criticism, it will be of interest, in conjunction with what has already been said, to consider the finding of the Select Committee in their Report. It reads as follows: "There is a conflict of evidence as to what were the true grounds which determined the revolutionary party at Johannesburg on the 26th December to counter-order the insurrection which had been fixed for the 28th, and to prohibit the invasion of the Transvaal

by Dr. Jameson, which had been settled for that day. Colonel Rhodes states that it was 'because they would not rise before they got a distinct assurance about the flag, and they only got that on the Sunday morning. We were told in the telegram we got from Cape Town from C. Leonard that an entirely new departure had been decided on.' Dr. Wolff attributes the failure to the fact that 'being unable to seize the Arsenal at Pretoria they were quite unprepared.' Mr. C. Leonard gives the same reasons, as well as the difficulty about the flag. Mr. Phillips says they had not arms for the men."

It is difficult to understand what conflict there is in this evidence ; it is true that some of the witnesses did not assign all the reasons, but no single reason given is in conflict with any other. Moreover, any one of the reasons alleged was enough to render postponement expedient, and taken altogether they rendered it imperative. But the crash was now nigh at hand.

Dr. Jameson, instead of falling in with the Committee's instructions, and the new departure decided on by Rhodes and Leonard, determined to march to Johannesburg. To quote from the Select Committee's Report : "When they (Mr. Leonard, Colonel Rhodes, and Mr. Phillips) learnt that Dr. Jameson was intending to start, so far from authorising him to come in, they used every measure in their power

by telegram and by messenger to prohibit and prevent the Raid. With the full knowledge of all these circumstances, Dr. Jameson, being convinced that no rising was about to take place at Johannesburg, determined to bring matters to a head, and telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes: 'We will make our own flotation, with help of letter which I shall publish.' Immediately upon the Raid becoming known, this letter, by the order of Mr. Rhodes, was cabled by Dr. Harris to Miss Shaw for insertion in the *Times* newspaper, with a date filled in which made it appear that it had been sent as an urgent appeal from Johannesburg just before the Raid." The news of Dr. Jameson's actual start on Sunday evening reached Johannesburg on the Monday afternoon through the medium of the public press, the Boers having been in possession of the intelligence some hours previously.

The effect of this news on the Johannesburg leaders and the few others who were cognisant of the Jameson plan was one, to use no stronger term, of astonishment. They saw their plans blown to the winds—themselves discredited and apparently distrusted by their ally—the worst possible hour for action forced upon them; and to what end, for what reason? Whether Dr. Jameson reached Johannesburg or not, would not this premature movement prejudice the whole cause?

Would it not paralyse the High Commissioner's hand?

But if this was the effect on the minds of the leaders, what was it—what was it bound to be?—on the great mass of people in Johannesburg, who, while thoroughly in sympathy with the movement for Reform, knew nothing of the Jameson plan? What did it mean? As far as was possible explanations were given. But it was difficult to make people understand why a man, in the position of an ally, had taken the step of marching into the country because he had been requested not to do so. One thing, however, they not unnaturally argued, and that was that the Johannesburg leaders were entirely in the dark. This, said a large number, is a move quite independent of us. Rhodes has evidently sent Jameson in with the full assurance that he will be supported by the High Commissioner and the British Government. Happy but brief delusion! On the very following evening the High Commissioner's proclamation was placed in their hands.

I am reluctant to be thought hypercritical, but in view of the wholesale detraction and misrepresentation to which the Johannesburg leaders and their followers have at one time and another been subjected by a misinformed Press, some expression of opinion, now that all the facts are known to the world, may not unreasonably find utterance. The

wide mental habit which some one in Mr. Rhodes' case has described as that of "thinking in Continents," is doubtless in a great and strong imperial statesman, as I hold Mr. Rhodes to be, an admirable trait; and in so far as it is the expression of a lofty and generous ambition to further the spread of a free and enlightened civilisation, and the interests of that great nation in whose destinies he has such an abiding faith, I render it every homage. But it has its dangers; the habit is somewhat infectious—it is apt to extend itself to colleagues, and even cable correspondents; and if when carried into the field of practical politics—it is allowed to engender a certain scorn for prosaic details—its influence may be productive of failure, and even disaster.

With regard to what followed, the story of Dr. Jameson's march and battle need no repetition. The news of Dr. Jameson's actual start filtered through to head-quarters in Johannesburg; about 3 p.m. on Monday; and pocketing whatever feelings they might have on the subject, the leaders at once endeavoured to make every preparation in their power. The arms that had arrived were unpacked, and those that had not were sought for and found by messengers sent down the railway line. These messengers accomplished the delicate task of carefully piloting to Johannesburg the remainder of the rifles, the bulk of the ammunition and three Maxim

guns, which, however, did not arrive until Tuesday evening. The Reform Committee was then formed and remained in perpetual session day and night throughout the crisis. Whatever more this well-abused Committee might have done, they at any rate preserved perfect order among an excited community, both white and black: they enrolled a police force and closed the canteens; they provided food and shelter for numbers of men, women, and children who flocked into the town from the outlying mines; and in common fairness to the members of the Committee of whom not much that is generous has been said, it may as well be recorded that many of them were willing and eager to accompany whatever force might be sent out to meet Dr. Jameson, and would gladly have done so if the Executive of the Committee, with whom the ultimate decision rested, had not concluded that such a step was both impracticable and unnecessary. The responsibility for this decision rests with the Committee, and more especially its Executive—and not with the people of Johannesburg as a whole. That the decision, looking back to the whole circumstances of the position, was a natural one I think must be admitted; but as far as the people of Johannesburg, among whom were campaigners from many a South African battle-field, are concerned, it is only right to say that those of them who had arms would cheerfully

have gone on foot if necessary, to endeavour to effect a junction with the Jameson column, had they been asked or even permitted to do so.

What Johannesburg should have done at this juncture has been the subject of more recrimination, and more controversy than anything else connected with the whole subject of the "Armed Incursion." The Jameson force, which had fought, and fought gallantly according to the testimony of those best able to judge, the Boers who opposed them, naturally had the sympathy of the world in the hour of reverse. Should Johannesburg not have made some effort to assist Dr. Jameson even with the inadequate means at their command and in the circumstances as they then stood? On this question Mr. Phillips writes in the *Nineteenth Century* as follows:—"I think to-day, as I thought at the time, that it would have been an act of grossest folly to send out a force on foot to meet an ally whom we had not the slightest ground for believing was in any need of our aid, in direct opposition to the commands of the High Commissioner, and moreover as a declaration of hostilities against the Government which we were unprepared to fight. The mere fact of the invasion having occurred prior to the internal rising put us hopelessly in the wrong.

"The British Government had declared itself in definite terms from which they could not retreat,

and we had the combined Transvaal and Orange Free State as opponents.”

Dr. Jameson and his force, which in November he had stated would be 800 strong, and not, as was only known after the surrender, 500, had started not only after receiving orders from the Johannesburg leaders for postponement, but without advising them of his start. Naturally he could not in these circumstances expect aid, nor did he, as he frankly admitted in his answer to question 5,720 before the South Africa Committee. The High Commissioner's proclamation repudiating Dr. Jameson and warning British subjects was issued in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Unfortunately, with that persistent bad luck which dogged every step of this expedition, a letter sent by Col. Rhodes to Dr. Jameson appears to have created a misunderstanding. Some of Dr. Jameson's followers stated after the surrender that Col. Rhodes had sent them a letter which reached them on the march, containing a promise to send a column to their assistance at Krugersdorp. Sir J. Willoughby repeated this in his evidence before the Committee, and in support of his contention put in the fragmentary letter found on the battle-field with the missing words filled in by himself and his friends from memory. Col. Rhodes filled in the missing words in examination before the Committee, giving a dif-



ferent meaning to the letter ; and in reference to it he said : “ I know that some of Dr. Jameson’s party really believed that that note contained a distinct promise to meet them at Krugersdorp. All I can say most distinctly is, that it never was in my head to do so ; all I meant to do was to send a few men on the road to meet them and show them their camp. Their camp was on the Krugersdorp side of Johannesburg, and I meant to send, and in fact I ordered the men to go out and show them directly they got in sight of Johannesburg. But as for sending a force to meet them, that was not in my mind. If it had been I ought to have sent the men off at the same time as this note left, because the note only left on the Wednesday morning early, and I fully expected them on the Wednesday evening.”

“ Question 5405. Were you in a military position to enable you to send out anything in the nature of a force ?—If one had thought they were in difficulties, of course one would have sent out a force. But I do not think we were in a position to send them anything that would have been of very much service to them.

“ Question 5406. And in your opinion I understand you to say that you were clear in your mind that Dr. Jameson would get in without any difficulty ?—Certainly, I always thought so.”

Mr. Phillips, Mr. George Farrer, and Mr. S. W. Jameson (Dr. Jameson's brother), read this letter before its despatch, and they all assert most positively that it contained no suggestion of sending out a force to Krugersdorp. In order to clear the matter up, Mr. Phillips cabled out for a photograph of the fragments found on the battle-field, which had been pieced together by the Transvaal authorities. On this photograph Mr. Gurrin, an expert on handwriting, reported that the words filled in by Sir John Willoughby and his friends from memory were "not only inconsistent with the amount of space available," but "did not fit in with the letters and position of letters visible."

The cyclists who took the letter and were cognisant of its contents also confirm Col. Rhodes's version.

This subject would not have called for such lengthy treatment here if it had not been made the cause of considerable, and, as I think must now be admitted, unjustifiable reproach to Col. Rhodes and the other Johannesburg leaders. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, when asked for his opinion on this matter, is reported by a correspondent of South Africa to have replied as follows: "Oh," he said, "it is a mistake. I know my brother is absolutely truthful, and I have every reason to believe that Sir

John Willoughby is also ; but at the same time, I would rather trust my brother's recollection of what he wrote than Sir John's of what he read."

The evidence of Mr. Lionel Phillips before the Select Committee states that the nature of the arrangement with Dr. Jameson was, what indeed it was always understood to be by those in Johannesburg who were privileged to know anything about it, that when called upon he should come to the aid of Johannesburg. That Johannesburg would be called upon or expected to go to his aid, had never been suggested or contemplated. We have had Col. Rhodes's evidence on the resources at his command, we have had Dr. Jameson's frank statement that at any rate, previous to the start he never anticipated the want of, nor expected, aid. Mr. Phillips is even more emphatic in reply to question 6909, in which he was asked if the statement that an arrangement existed with the leaders of the Reform Committee that "Dr. Jameson should be assisted by troops sent from Johannesburg to Krugersdorp" was true, he said: "It is absolutely untrue. We never made any such arrangement. We never for a moment contemplated that Dr. Jameson would need any assistance."

On Tuesday night, the 31st of December, two delegates were sent to the Reform Committee from the Transvaal Government. They said the Govern-

ment had instructed them to invite the Committee to send a deputation that the matters in dispute might be discussed, and if possible adjusted, in a friendly spirit.

A deputation of four, including Mr. Lionel Phillips, was sent on the following morning to Pretoria, and Mr. Phillips described in his evidence what had occurred. He said:—

“ We described the whole of the greivances. We were perfectly frank ; we told the Commission exactly the nature of our relations with Dr. Jameson. We told them that by arrangement Dr. Jameson was on the border, that he had certainly left without our instructions. We did not know for what reason he had left, but as we had made arrangements with him we regarded him as one with ourselves.”

Later on the Commission handed to the deputation the decision of the Transvaal Executive, and it was to the following effect : “ Sir Hercules Robinson has offered his services with a view to a peaceful settlement. The Government of the Republic has accepted his offer. Pending his arrival no hostile step will be taken against Johannesburg, provided that Johannesburg takes no hostile action against the Government. In terms of the proclamation recently issued by the President the grievances will be earnestly considered.”

In the meantime the Reform Committee, sitting in Johannesburg, telegraphed to the deputation at Pretoria as follows :—“ Meeting has been held since you started to consider telegram from British Agent, and it was unanimously resolved to authorise you to make following offer to Government : In order to avert bloodshed on grounds of Dr. Jameson’s action, if Government will allow Dr. Jameson to come in unmolested, the Committee will guarantee, with their persons, if necessary, that he shall leave again peacefully within as little delay as possible.”

The deputation then returned to Johannesburg and reported to the Committee, from which time they were free to take any course that seemed best. The above negotiations are what have been described as an armistice—though the term is obviously an inaccurate one. The position was about as difficult as it could be ; and, at the risk of placing his neck in jeopardy, Mr. Phillips took upon himself his full share of responsibility for Dr. Jameson’s action.

The High Commissioner had always been considered an essential factor to a satisfactory settlement, and on him the leaders were now compelled to rely. That he was in feeble health at the time was no fault of his, but it undoubtedly constituted one more of the unfortunate circumstances with which this whole question was involved. Having arranged for the handing over of Dr. Jameson and

his followers, he felt himself unable to do more, and the grievances and the Reform Committee were left to their fate.

In dealing with the actual facts I have thought it wisest to take as far as possible the statements of the principal actors themselves, wherever any controversial point has come under consideration. With regard to what followed the surrender of the Jameson force there is little that need be said here. Dr. Jameson with his officers and men were, after an imprisonment of some few weeks in Pretoria, handed over to the High Commissioner and forwarded to England, where the officers and Dr. Jameson were tried and punished with imprisonment under the Foreign Enlistment Act. The members of the Reform Committee were arrested and tried by the High Court at Pretoria on charges of high treason, and subsequently imprisoned and fined, although not before the four leaders had been subjected to sentence of death, afterwards commuted.

Punishment, however much or however little merited, has therefore been freely meted out to all concerned. But there are instances in which it fell with undue and disproportionate weight, if, for the sake of argument, one may adopt a scale relative to the knowledge of and participation in, the whole movement of different participators. It did so in the case of a large number (not including myself)

of the Reform Committee, who knew nothing of the Jameson plan until after Dr. Jameson had started, and who joined the Reform Committee, mainly because they did not care to appear backward in supporting what they believed to be a just cause at a critical moment. And these same men, in the great majority of instances, quietly awaited and accepted the consequences of their action afterwards, though they smiled somewhat grimly when in Pretoria prison they learnt that the whole world was denouncing them for having urgently called Dr. Jameson in by letter alleged to have been received by him the day before the start, and then refused to assist him. As, however, Dr. Jameson and his officers were awaiting trial they thought it better to remain silent, and did so, to the great edification of a large section of the Press, which continued to denounce them both in poetry and prose. The consequences fell with undue weight also upon the officers of the Jameson force, who, in addition to suffering imprisonment, lost their commissions. With the policy of starting when they did they had nothing to do. They obeyed the commands of their superior officer ; and the reasons adduced by him supported by the belief that their action would not be disapproved by the Imperial authorities, were more than ample to determine them not to refuse to follow their chief, which it is argued they should

have done. To retire on receipt of the High Commissioner's letters and proclamation, while their chief proceeded, would have again placed them in a most invidious position, to say the least of it. Under the circumstances imprisonment was surely ample punishment. If it was right to retain Mr. Cecil Rhodes on Her Majesty's Privy Council, it was wrong to deprive these men of Her Majesty's commissions. The British Government have decided, wisely and rightly in public opinion, to retain Mr. Rhodes ; and as trustees for the reputation of fair play, which the English nation looks on as a heritage to be handed down untarnished to posterity, it is their duty to deal in like spirit with the Jameson officers.

With reference to Mr. Chas. Leonard a good many hard things have been said, because he did not return from Capetown after his interview with Mr. Rhodes. The period of the "Armed Incur-sion" was, it was felt, rather an unfortunate one for the Chairman of the National Union to be absent ; and in deference to Mr. Leonard it is only fair to notice the explanation which he at least has been at no great pains to make public. He had intended to return with his colleague Mr. Hamilton, when he received an urgent request from Mr. Rhodes to remain and render him what assistance he could with Mr. Hofmeyer and the Imperial authorities at



Capetown. On this point Mr. Wyndham elicited from Mr. Leonard before the South African Committee, that he had received a letter from Mr. Rhodes from which the following was an extract : " I asked you with Hamilton to stay and help me. You could do no good in a train, you could do great good here. I know you fought for going, but it was nonsense and too late. Afterwards blame me, but I was thoroughly right." It is thus clear that if Mr. Leonard has erred, it was an error of judgment ; and personally now that all the circumstances are known, I do not consider him even to have erred in that. To have returned at a later stage after the warrant for his arrest was made public would not have served any useful purpose ; whereas it is clear from the unremitting attention which he devoted to the matter in England that he used his liberty to better purpose in the Uitlander cause than any that could have been served by his imprisonment at Pretoria.

The action of the Cape Government in first arresting Messrs. Joel and Bettelheim and subsequently in endeavouring to arrest Mr. Charles Leonard, pursuing him with that end to a Portuguese port, will ever remain a stain on this page of the history of the Cape Colony. The arrest of political refugees, one of them a British subject, in a British colony, to be handed over to a foreign

State, is an act, the character of which might be natural in Turkey, but which surely has never before in history been perpetrated by a British Colonial Government.

To Mr. Leonard it was left to find on the shores of England that protection which even a Portuguese port would not withhold from him, but which was denied him in the land of his birth, a British colony. Well might he exclaim in the bitterness of his heart that Cape politicians, during this crisis in South Africa, thought of nothing but "crawling on their stomachs before the Boers."

Among those who have suffered heavily the consequences of the Incursion is assuredly Dr. Jameson. In dealing with his action I have taken recorded fact, and I should be sorry indeed if I felt that I had done him the least injustice. He came to the conclusion that expediency demanded a bold forward movement, and, contrary instructions notwithstanding, he endeavoured to carry it out. Mr. Rhodes, it has been shown, although a party to and a principal in the Jameson plan, was not a party to the actual start of Dr. Jameson's force. Moreover, the apparent readiness with which he agreed to a new departure, after the interview with Messrs. Hamilton and Leonard, and also with which he offered to keep Dr. Jameson on the border for "six or nine months if necessary," clearly shows his appreciation of their reasons for

preventing precipitate action. Mr. Rhodes's name has come continually before us ; and whatever errors, ethical or political, he may or may not have committed, one thing at least has been made clear to any impartial man, and that is that he was inspired in his actions by public spirit and an honourable ambition to further the cause of civilisation in South Africa. In his successful career it has not often occurred to him to have to exclaim with Voltaire :

Nous tromper dans nos entreprises,  
C'est à quoi nous sommes sujets.

But we have been brought face to face with political disaster ; and now that the episode is past and the tale told, with a fulness which in the world's history no such tale has ever been told before, it is not unreasonable to speculate on what were the causes of failure, and what under different circumstances might have been the prospects of success. And at the outset of the consideration of the problem the question which forces itself upon one is, whether there was not too much lofty contemplation of the end and an insufficient consideration of the means on the part of all the originators of the Jameson plan. Was not a federated South Africa—the avowed object of at least some of the originators—a too distant object, a matter too remote to the immediate business in hand? Was it not allowed to obscure the real and immediate issue,

and that in a disastrous manner, for instance, when at the eleventh hour it appears to have inspired an attempt to force the British flag on the internal movement at Johannesburg, which was avowedly and irretrievably republican in its object? Federation must bide its time; and when it comes—if it come at all—it can only come as the spontaneous wish of the various States and Colonies of South Africa; attempts to force it drive it further away.

It has been contended, and not without reason, that the Jameson plan was never put into execution, and therefore never had a trial. Dr. Jameson, impatient at delay, determined on an immediate movement, which inevitably alienated the support of the British Government and the aid of the High Commissioner, both deemed indispensable to the original plan. In fact they were the vital essence of the original plan; it was never supposed that the Jameson force plus the men to be hurriedly armed in Johannesburg could defeat the burgher army; it was expected that they would be able to hold Johannesburg until they received the moral support of the High Commissioner and if necessary the physical support of the British Government. But if, as Mr. Charles Leonard says in his evidence, things were “misfitting” in Johannesburg, they “misfitted” a good deal worse between Capetown and the Colonial Office. Of any knowledge of the “Jameson plan” the Colonial Office

have been, and in the light of the evidence must be, acquitted. Moreover, Mr. Chamberlain's immediate repudiation of Dr. Jameson's move was in itself conclusive. Of charges of Colonial Office complicity the world is heartily sick. As Sir William Harcourt said in the South African debate on the Committee's Report: "Men have gone muttering about the world and they are muttering still;" but what particle of proof has been forthcoming to justify all the head shaking and inuendo? Where then was this moral support to come from?

The fact is Mr. Rhodes was either deceived by the sensational telegrams of his cable correspondents, or he was mistaken in his estimate of the Colonial Office mind.

He probably was both.

The latter he might not unnaturally to some extent have been, by the policy which had induced the Colonial Office to arrange for a joint expedition with the Cape Government against the Transvaal in case the ultimatum on the Drifts question was not complied with; as to the former, their ambiguous language speaks for itself.

To be wise after the event is a privilege accorded to Courts of Inquiry and even to writers; and one important question remains: Given the position of the Uitlander in the Transvaal in 1895, was revocation of any sort or kind a wise or expedient

policy? That it was justifiable, looking to the aggravation of the position, I believe; that is, if any revolution or rebellion in the whole course of history—and in the Transvaal there have been several—ever was justifiable. Failure was its worst condemnation.

But was it in any shape or form expedient? Against the solid wall of Boer prejudice and ignorance was it the most effective weapon?

In the light of subsequent events it is probable that any scheme involving the use by invasion of a foreign force not directly under Imperial control would have been doomed to failure. The arrival of such a force at Johannesburg might have postponed the catastrophe—it would not have averted it—much less would it have achieved the object of a revolution. On the other hand it is possible that a movement purely internal, which would not have alienated and wounded the Progressive Burgher sentiment, and which would not have precluded the possibility of some measure of Imperial support, might at least have obtained a liberal instalment of reform.

But there is another alternative course which might have been adopted. There was the alternative of a firm but patient policy, carried on both internally and externally within constitutional lines in the open light of day. This statement would sound somewhat trite if it were not for the fact that at the time

we are reviewing new factors had been imported into the problem which had not yet been taken into the calculation, new elements had been introduced into the position which were only beginning to make their presence felt.

The true attitude of the British Government on the question of the Drifts towards the end of 1895, although known to Mr. Rhodes and other members of the Cape Government, came as a revelation to the world generally long after the Jameson Raid. The British Government and the Government of the Cape Colony pledged under certain conditions to co-operate in coercing the Transvaal. Here was an alliance, here was a menace which even the Boer Executive could not have realised without alarm. Unrest within, profound irritation without, the British and Cape Colonial Government united, some of the grievances of the Uitlander held to constitute breaches of the Convention, a strong Conservative Government in office in England—was there not material here for a statesman to manipulate? Would not co-operation with the Imperial authorities at this juncture have been a better policy than any policy of isolation? But the incident is over, the day has passed; the great Proconsul, at least for a time, is out of power, and the curtain has risen on a new act in the South African political drama, which it is not our object here to consider.

The whole episode has not been the first, nor I fear will it be the last blunder, committed on the confines of a world-wide Empire. Every step has been revealed for the edification and sometimes the amusement of an eager public; every mistake has been duly censured, and every action which has fallen below the ethical standard of public morality been severely condemned. Fortunately, perhaps, for the happiness of mankind, it is not given to many persons to have either their public or their private conduct laid so absolutely bare. The verdict of posterity has been variously estimated; but as posterity will see things in perspective, that portion of it which regards South African history will find a bigger blunder looming larger on their view on which to visit their condemnation.

They will look to 1881, and they will see a British Colony, the Transvaal, with one section of its inhabitants in rebellion; they will see English soldiers hurrying to the support of their defeated and overpowered comrades countermanded; their fellow countrymen, loyal colonists, stoutly holding Pretoria and other towns, deserted and betrayed; concessions refused in the day of England's power, granted under pressure of temporary defeat; and English prestige so shattered and pitiful a thing as within the confines of South Africa to threaten the very foundation of Empire.



In this they will recognise so many mistakes, so many lapses from public virtue, so much of political poltroonery, that beside it the Jameson Raid will sink into insignificance.

They will observe, moreover, with something akin to indignation, that the Ministers responsible for this policy in 1881 were neither imprisoned, fined, nor deprived of their commissions, and that the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone was not even threatened with dismissal from Her Majesty's Privy Council.

## DIARY OF A POLITICAL PRISONER IN PRETORIA

NOTE.—The sentences under which the sixty-three Reform prisoners were sent from the High Court of the Transvaal to Pretoria prison on April 28th, 1895, were as follows:—

The four leaders were sentenced to death, which sentence on the following day was commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment.

The fifty-nine remaining Reformers were sentenced to

Two years' imprisonment.

£2,000 fine, or another year.

Three years' banishment.

Previous to the imprisonment under sentence was the imprisonment after arrest in January, extending over a fortnight, but of this I kept no note at the time.

The diary was written in prison at intervals during the term of our imprisonment. It is not a

daily record, nor does it do more than describe some of the details of the life there. A few portions of no general interest are omitted.

It was written with a view more to filling up the time than to publication afterwards. I have since added a few notes, which make the picture a little more complete.

One of the first matters that came up for our consideration was the question of whether we were to be treated under ordinary gaol regulations, or whether we were to have such treatment as political prisoners or first-class misdemeanants would be entitled to in most civilised countries. In this question were involved such points as clothing, food, correspondence, and the right to see friends. Our accommodation was as vile as it could be ; the prison food, which we had tried for some days, consisted of mealie meal porridge at 7 a.m. with salt. At noon, thin soup, coarse meat and bread. At 4 p.m. mealie meal with salt, water *ad lib.* and no other liquid.

To many men the porridge and salt were uneatable, and at the end of a few days there were men weak and ill from hunger. It was therefore obvious that a continuance of this food must mean illness to a certain number.

At this juncture we were informed that if we applied for privileges as political prisoners, they

would be granted ; failing an application we were to don prison clothes on the following day and continue prison food. The men who objected to signing this application urged that it would be better to come under gaol regulations, wear prison clothes, &c., than ask for any privileges. As against this it was urged that we were only asking for what we were entitled to in the way of treatment ; and the request, partially signed, was eventually sent in, with the result that some modification of the regulations was allowed.

PRETORIA PRISON,  
May, 1895.

Our daily life here is somewhat monotonous. We rise about seven, and take a walk in the yard. We then wash in the muddy stream which runs through the yard, (*Note* :—When it was not occupied by native prisoners washing their clothes,) and have breakfast. After breakfast beds, consisting of straw mattresses on the floor, have to be taken out, and the cells are swept by native prisoners. Men spend the morning according to their different tastes—walking, talking, loafing, or reading and writing. The difficulty of both the latter is to find a spot which is quiet and shaded. I am now writing among the trunks in the cell used for our luggage. It is the best spot I know. The greatest drawback to our life is the throng : there are

sixty-three of us all crowded together, and anything like even momentary seclusion is almost impossible. In the cells or rooms themselves there is always inevitably noise and movement. In our cell there are, or rather originally were, thirty-five men. It is a small low structure, of galvanised iron sheeting, 22 feet long by 14 feet 6 inches across, and about 9 feet high. (*Note* :—The inner, or back wall of our cell, which is described in the diary, was only the thickness of a sheet of corrugated iron, and was one common to ourselves and the inmates of a similar cell on the other side of it, who were a lot of native prisoners. We heard their every word and movement; and through the greater portion of one night the short gasping respiration of a poor Kaffir dying from pneumonia. Our mattresses, which were small, covered the whole of the floor, with the exception of a narrow gangway down the middle. We were thus for sleeping purposes packed something like sardines.)

The floor of our cell is boarded, but not the walls. It is villainously ventilated, with small holes cut in the corrugated iron wall. These holes are situated near the roof, and are about one foot long and six inches deep. It is naturally hot by day and cold by night. The yard of bare gravel into which our cell opens is the best feature about the prison. In this we can get fresh open air, and as it is about 50

yards square, a fair stretch for exercise. (*Note*.:—The yard was the one used by all the native prisoners as well as ourselves.)

Mr. Clemens (Mark Twain) visited us yesterday, and gave us a bright hour of his conversation. He is a man of somewhat delicate physique, but with a fine head, shaggy eyebrows, a shock of strong grey hair, and a long eye which nearly closes when he laughs. He speaks in the slow American staccato manner, and has an easy and graceful command of language. He spoke of prison life as in many respects an ideal existence, the one he had ever sought, and never found—healthy, undisturbed, plenty of repose, no fatigue, no distraction—such a life as enabled Bunyan to write the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Cervantes *Don Quixote*. Bunyan while in prison had for companions “angels, devils, and other scarecrows,” and he enjoyed many handsome adventures and interesting travels without undue risk and with no more concern than was involved in their superintendence on paper. The body of Cervantes may have been enclosed in four walls; but his spirit roamed at large, and he had for his friends two such splendid fellows as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Thus two great works classic for all time would probably never have seen the light had it not been for the imprisonment of these two men. For himself, Mark Twain continued, he could

conceive of nothing better than such a life ; he would willingly change places with any one of us, and, with such an opportunity as had never yet been offered him before, would write a book—the book of his life. Of course some of us failed to look at it in this philosophic light, and he admitted that it was not always easy to discover the concealed compensation which invariably existed under apparently adverse circumstances. Still, this was such a clear case that he would assuredly, in the interview which he was to have with the President on the following day, endeavour to get our sentences extended. For Clement—one of the prisoners who improperly spelt his name with a “ t ”—descended like himself on the left-hand side from a long papal ancestry, he would endeavour to get thirty years.

There is a run on the luggage room this morning, and I have had to move on to the yard, where I am now lying on my bed, trying to write legibly. At noon I generally take some of the prison soup and bread. At 5 P.M. we have dinner ; and this, as well as breakfast, is now sent in from outside. We have formed into different messes, and two members of each mess are appointed daily to superintend operations. As we have neither chairs nor tables, these operations are somewhat intricate. Planks are raised on boxes, newspapers spread on the planks ; and the meal, with such plates, cups, knives, forks,

&c., as we are able to muster placed on them. Baskets and small boxes serve as seats. Visitors are allowed in daily, for ten minutes each, from ten to twelve and two to four, except on Sundays, Saturdays and public holidays. For the first three weeks we slept with mattresses on the floor; but since Hull and King, two of our number, have been liberated, they have used their influence in our behalf and have procured stretchers; these are an improvement, as it is trying work to be always sitting or lying on the ground. Perhaps our best time is after dinner in the evenings. When we first came in we were locked up at 5.30 P.M., and lights had to be extinguished shortly afterwards; these rules were gradually relaxed, and now lights are allowed to any reasonable hour, and doors remain open till 8.30 P.M. A new moon rose shortly after our imprisonment, and now is making to the full. Nightly we see her in our after-dinner stroll—white and splendid in the still deep tropic sky. Inside scratch games of whist and poker are being played; and in the little inner yard, outside Jim Leonards' cell—the piazza, as we call it—Muggins Williams sings, in a fair tenor voice, a host of ballads, operettas, and songs, of which he remembers with wonderful facility both the melody and the words. It is a poor heart that never rejoices; and as the last candle is blown out the snoring brigade, of which we have a large con-



tingent in our cell, take up the running, happy themselves and "innocent of hostile intent," but adding one more to the cares that produce insomnia in their less fortunate friends.

Amongst us are men of all nationalities—men of all creeds and no creeds—of every shade of opinion—political, ethical, or religious—British, English South African, and Dutch South African, Americans, Hollander, Swiss, Germans, a Turkish Effendi and a Scotch baronet.<sup>1</sup> Barristers, lawyers, doctors, mining men, speculators, commercial men—all are represented. Men of great wealth and men of poverty—luxurious effeminate men and hardy pioneers—lie side by side on the prison floor, and whistle or sigh as the spirit moves them to the morning star shining clear through the narrow window. For if, as Bacon says, "adversity doth best discover virtue," it also "makes strange bed-fellows." Of raconteurs we have our share; and none of us will ever forget the pithy yarns of those astute old Americans, Mein and Lingham. Their supply would, if necessary, last out the two years. They never tell the same yarn twice, and never tell a flat one. There are among us men who are staunch

<sup>1</sup> The Reform Committee, of which only sixty-three were arrested or voluntarily surrendered themselves, actually consisted of thirty-four men of British nationality, seventeen South Africans, eight Americans, two Germans, one Australian, one Swiss, one Hollander, one Turk, and one Transvaal burgher.

champions and pillars of the Y.M.C.A., and men whose language is shockingly frequent and free. One is a vegetarian and has conscientious objections to penny points at whist; others of our number have in their time lost and won thousands at poker.

*Literature in prison.*—My two books since I have been here have been Macaulay's *Essays* and Plutarch's *Lives*. Of the former I have been reading again the essay on Bacon. Bacon's career as Attorney-General and Judge is interesting politically, as throwing a lurid light on the influence exercised by the Crown on the courts of justice in England in the days of James I. To this practice Bacon lent himself an only too willing instrument, and in this matter he covered an illustrious name with ignominy. He was an opportunist, and a somewhat sordid one. As a philosopher he has conferred a great debt on mankind. He saw the barrenness of the speculations of the Platonists and the Schoolmen, and became the founder of the Philosophy of Fruit, as he called it. In his *De Augmentis* and *Novum Organum* he set forth in most brilliant manner the claims of experiment and research in every department of nature, the sciences and arts. Experimental philosophy, not metaphysics, was his doctrine; and the exposition of this, along with his *Inductive Logic*, seem to have constituted his great life work.

I have read several of Plutarch's lives. His favourite method appears to be to take a famous Greek and a famous Roman, and, after giving the life and history of both in separate essays, to compare the two. The parallel is generally a striking one, and serves to illustrate more than anything else how Greek civilisation, with its philosophy, art, and political institutions, impressed itself upon Rome. The writing is concise and condensed, and the comparison is made in an epitome of both lives in a short essay by itself—to epitomise all this again is difficult. In vol. ii. the essays on *Alcibiades* and *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* are most interesting. Alcibiades, in whom the pursuit of pleasure was as strong a passion as ambition, has been for ages the ideal of numbers of men of the Bulwer Lytton type. His liberality, eloquence, beauty, bravery, and personal strength all won the hearts of the Athenians.

Coriolanus, who was exiled, returned at the head of an armed force of Volscians against Rome. The appeals of ambassadors and priests were disregarded by him; but he gave way to the appeal of his mother and wife, who prostrated themselves before him, begging that Rome might be spared. His leniency cost him his life, for he was slain by the indignant Volscians on his return to Antrium.

These notes are written a week or two after

reading the essays ; and the conditions for reading in the midst of the sixty-three Reform prisoners have been so bad that my recollection of details is uncertain. At present, after a month in a cell with thirty-four others, I am sharing a small room with Bettelheim, which gives one more quiet.

The extremes of virtue and vice, crime and high nobility of character, in these old Greeks and Romans are astounding—heights high as heaven and depths deep as hell, as Ouida puts it in reference to some of her heroes. The two extremes occasionally, though rarely, occur in the same individual.

Among the moralists *Aristides* and *Cato the Censor* are the most interesting ; and I think Plutarch's essay on the last is the best of his I have read. Cato was parsimonious, industrious, and severe. The position of censor was the highest dignity in the Roman Republic. "For, beside the power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow his own inclinations without inspection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aristides and Cato compared*, see p. 340

Yesterday Bettelheim and I moved into a little room with earth floor opening on the main yard. This gives one some quiet and peace for reading or writing. Our furniture is of course confined to the stretchers and blankets, it still being apparently impossible to get in tables or chairs. For the last few evenings I have been learning poker.

New building is going up apace, yet benevolent rumours about further mitigation amounting to immediate release keep coming in. Jim is more sanguine than ever.

I have succeeded in getting off Bettington and Clement, both of whom have been ill, to hospital in the last few days—previously Joel, Buckland, and Lingham had gone up there. Hammond is the only American left in now. The question of appeal for mitigation of the sentence to the Executive of the Government has caused much discussion among us. As usual, all shades of view. Our demand is simply for justice. South Africa denounces the sentence.

For feeding purposes we are divided up into messes. My first mess included Fritz Mosen-thal, Buckland, and Brodie ; but as all these were on the free list, as the list of those first liberated is called, their departure necessitated new arrangements ; so I have since cut in with St. John Carr, H. A. Rogers, Dr. Mitchell, Van Hulsteyn,

Hosken, and Clement. Two of us are on duty daily.

Number two mess have obtained—fairly or not I don't know—the reputation of jumping everything worth having in the way of boxes, planks, milk, knives, forks, &c., that are to be found; so Sandy last night, when the mess was decorously asleep, inscribed their walls in large letters with the legend “Beware of pickpockets.”

Du Plessis, the gaoler, is a typical Boer. He is an intimate friend of the President and an old one; and although a rough old wolf, is not without intelligence. (*Note* :—He had a keen nose for contraband articles, such as cigars in the provision baskets sent in.)

It has been announced that the banishment part of our sentence, which was subject to the confirmation of the Executive, has now been confirmed by them; this, it was explained by our legal Reform colleagues, including the Q.C., was probably only done as a matter of form and out of courtesy to the Judge; nevertheless, when daily led by all our Pretoria attorneys to expect an early mitigation, it came as rather an unpleasant surprise—to Grey it was a cause of great consternation—confirming his worst fears that the whole sentence was to be carried out in its entirety, and that all the outside rumours that reached us were simply intended to lull us into a fool's paradise. I had a talk with him

on the whole question on Friday, and took the best view I could of the situation. I assured him that there was no need for despondency, and that the matter would be favourably settled within a few days. The following night he professed to have slept well, but on Saturday morning after taking a walk and talking apparently cheerfully with Duirs, he slipped away and ended his own life. I was on the spot before he actually died; but it was the most determined case of suicide I have ever seen, and on the Diamond Fields and Gold Fields I have seen a good many. He was dead within a minute of the occurrence.

The funeral was arranged for outside. We drew up behind the hearse sent to fetch the body, and with bare heads followed it across the yard to the prison gates, where our procession ended.

It was a sad day for us all, and one we are not likely ever to forget. His poor distracted wife had been in daily to see and comfort him, spending the brief ten minutes allowed her by the authorities with him in the open yard—their only meeting place. She knew of his constitutional nervous weakness, and dreaded the worst. It was of her and of our own anxious harassed wives we thought, when poor Grey's end came.

This event has naturally cast a gloom over us all, and made a tremendous impression in Pretoria

and throughout South Africa. The suspense lasting over three weeks has been trying, and its effect has been very much heightened by the assurances of well-meaning but ill-informed friends, who, visiting us daily, have kept reiterating from the very first day of our incarceration that the sentences would be forthwith considered—considered so favourably that the imprisonment in probably all the cases of the fifty-nine would be entirely remitted. This had gone on day after day, and it was but small wonder that one or two per cent. of mankind should be mentally worn out and affected by it. As a matter of fact, with very few exceptions up to the time of Grey's death, men had taken it philosophically and well. The "to-morrow" of the optimists became a standing joke, and many an evening the cells rang with laughter over the yarns of Yankee diggers and South African pioneers.

It is the custom every Sunday for one or two clergymen of different denominations to obtain leave of admission and hold service among us. These services, generally held in cells two and three, were fairly attended and appreciated by many of the Reformers.

On Monday evening—to have been the evening of our release—we were still in, but heard that a decision had been come to; later on that night we learnt that it was unfavourable.



At eleven the next morning our sanguine, devoted and never-deterred Pretoria attorneys arrived with long lists in their hands. Eight of the fifty-nine were to be released forthwith ; twenty-three, myself amongst them, had our sentences reduced to three months ; some were to be *considered* again in five months, and four in twelve months. The four leaders were still under fifteen years' sentence, and had not yet been considered.

Only in the case of the three months' men was the commutation absolute ; in the cases of the five and twelve months' men, whose sentences were to be reconsidered at the expiration of these periods, the pretence at commutation was a farce.

Thus, what the prosecution, after months of collecting, sifting, and weighing evidence, did not deem it its duty to do ; what the Judge, whose function it was above all others to perform, apparently felt himself unable or unjustified to attempt ; the Executive did. They endeavoured to discriminate between fifty-nine men, all of whom had pleaded guilty to the same offence.

This action was not merely unwise, it was as an act of clemency or even justice ridiculous. It was the first false step the Boer Government had taken throughout the course of the whole movement ; it did not bear on its face the Kruger hall mark, and, as we are informed, it was taken in the teeth of

Kruger's strong opposition. Underlying it was palpably the idea of holding a number of men prisoners, practically "at the King's pleasure" as political pawns.

Following this decision in a few days came the erection of a new iron building opposite cell No. 3 in the prison yard—for our better accommodation; and the information from Du Plessis that inquiries were being made from the State Prosecutor's office as to the accommodation at the various prisons throughout the country, viler hells possibly even than the one at Pretoria. Du Plessis, however, told us that this splitting up throughout the country would not be carried out if we were content with our accommodation—a hint not to grumble further.

July 20th, 1896, finds me, thank God, with all my family aboard the good ship "Norman" in mid-Atlantic bound for Southampton. As my prison diary still wants completing, I take this the first opportunity of leisure since our release to finish it.

The mitigation to the shorter periods of sentence, while it gave some relief to the three months men, was felt to be most unsatisfactory as regards all the others, not only in the prison itself, but throughout South Africa. Fresh petitions, got up in some instances, I believe, at Kruger's instigation, kept coming in; delegates were sent up from the Free State and from nearly every town in the Cape

Colony and Natal; and we soon learnt that in all probability the sentences would again be considered by the Executive. On May 30th their further decision was announced. All, with the exception of six, were released on payment of the fines, £2,000 each and the signature of the bond to take no active part in Transvaal politics for three years from the date of release, which was substituted in lieu of banishment for that period.

We reached Johannesburg on the evening of May 30th. We were cheered by sympathetic friends as the train passed the different mines along the reef, and at Park Station we got a hearty reception.

NOTE.—A few weeks after the release of the fifty-six prisoners, the four leaders were released on payment of £25,000 each and a signature of a bond to take no further part in the politics of the Transvaal. This last was signed by all but Col. Frank Rhodes, who in place of it incurred the penalty of banishment. Messrs. Karri Davis and Sampson, the two irreconcilables, refusing to make any request whatever of the Government, were left in prison. Inasmuch as there was no special purpose to be served by this action or rather inaction on their part it has been described as unreasonable and quixotic. Quixotic it may have been, but courageous it undoubtedly was; and one cannot deny that in making any request whatever of the Boer

Executive, there was a sense of humiliation. England will not regret that two of her sons declined to suffer it, while History will award them the honour due to their pride and their fortitude.

They remained in prison, as all the world knows, for fifteen months, and were then released by the Transvaal Government on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee.

With regard to the four leaders, Mr. Lionel Phillips, Colonel Rhodes, Mr. George Farrer, and Mr. Hammond, it is due to them to say that they bore the death sentence, as well as the tremendous strain caused by the uncertainty as to their fate, from the time of their arrest to the time of their release, a period of five months, with undaunted courage.

Some incidents occurred during our imprisonment in Pretoria of which I made no note in my diary, but which I think are worth recording. The day after our arrival I visited the small collection of cells opening off an inner yard, which passes for the hospital in Pretoria prison. I found a hospital orderly in charge, and as I entered he greeted me by name. I looked at the man, but failed to recognise him. I then asked him how he came to know me, and he replied that he remembered me well on the Diamond Fields, seven years before, when Dr. Jameson and I were practising in partnership. During his incarceration—such are “the slings

and arrows of outrageous fortune"—both members of that once reputable firm had been prisoners in Pretoria prison.

I asked him what his offence had been, and he told me that finding himself destitute, he and some others had robbed a safe, belonging, if I remember rightly, to some Dutch church. I then asked him what his sentence was; and he replied, with a grim smile on his face which I shall never forget, "Only a quarter of a century." "What!" I rejoined, "twenty-five years?" "Yes, sir; you see"—the man was an Irishman—"the Judge had no taste for gambling; he sentenced me for twenty years. 'Twenty years!' said I; 'you don't mean that. I'll toss you double or quits.' And he gave me another five for contempt of court; so I'm in for a quarter of a century."

Among other relics of a bygone and more barbarous age which still linger about Pretoria prison is that ancient instrument of mild torture, the stocks. And the sight of some unfortunate native sitting sullen and morose with his feet securely locked therein became a common and familiar one to us. But one morning the scene was slightly changed. The stocks had been moved to a position immediately facing our cells, and as we came out about sunrise we were astonished to see seated in it the figure of a white man, and an Englishman. He

was an old man with grey hair and beard, wearing an old tweed suit, and on his head a battered white top hat. He sat up—as well as might be—with his hands outstretched behind him, supporting himself in his uncomfortable and cramped position.

The sight of this quaint woebegone figure would have made a subject for a picture in the last century. The effect at first was almost ludicrous, but the pathos of it was too great for this sensation to be more than momentary. As far as I can recall his history, he had been a tutor with a Boer family. During the Crisis a political discussion had arisen between the Dominie and the Laird—which became so warm that it ended in general riot, and a breaking of windows. The poor Dominie being hauled before a stern Boer magistrate was fined, bound over to keep the peace, and called upon to find a surety for £50. Not having 50s. the delinquent was marched off to Pretoria prison. Here he had been guilty of some breach of prison discipline, which resulted in the stocks. That day one of our number instructed his agent to pay the fine and lodge the necessary security, and we had the satisfaction a day or two afterwards of seeing our friend, after carefully adjusting his hat, pulling on a well-worn pair of gloves, and bidding us a hurried adieu, depart from Pretoria prison with the dignity of the Dominie somewhat restored.

On another occasion a particularly recalcitrant Kaffir of herculean proportions had been placed in these same stocks—which, like the Dominie's hat, were themselves rather old and worse for wear. As he sat there dogged and silent resting on his hands stretched out behind him, a constable came up and ordered him to raise his hands from the ground.

Now as the stocks had no lateral posts to hold on by, and a man placed in them had his feet raised in front of him, to sit up without the support of his hands stretched to the ground behind for more than a few minutes at a time, was a physical impossibility.

The Kaffir either did not understand or would not comply with the constable's request, and the constable kicked one of his hands from beneath him. This act so incensed one of our number, Mr. "Bill Goddard," who happened to be by at the moment, that he roundly abused the constable. In the meantime the Kaffir, who was nothing less than a giant in strength, made one prodigious effort and broke the stocks. Springing to his feet he seized a splinter of wood with which he would assuredly have brained the constable, if he had not fled for his life to the nearest shelter.

Next morning the Kaffir appeared in heavy chains.

Among the visitors who came to see us most

frequently while in Pretoria Prison was the late Mr. B. I. Barnato, or Barney, as he was more familiarly known. He took the keenest interest in our welfare, and undoubtedly used every influence he possessed to expedite our release. But when once inside the gates of the prison the life-long habit of banter almost invariably came over him, and many were the little jokes he scored at our expense, and many the stories he told.

On one occasion, when making somewhat caustic reference to the whole movement which had placed us there, and including Rhodes, Jameson, Reform Committee, and every one else connected with the movement in his strictures, he remarked that we had all tried to play a game of poker with the Transvaal Government on a "Colley Thumper" hand. The term was a new one, and we asked him what he meant by a "Colley Thumper."

In explanation he told the following story: An English traveller with a not very extensive knowledge of poker, found himself on one occasion engaged in a game with an astute old Yankee on board an American steamer. Playing cautiously the Englishman did pretty well, until he suddenly found himself, to his great satisfaction, in possession of a full hand.

The players alternately doubled the stakes until they were raised to £100. The Englishman then



called the American's hand, and the American deliberately put down a pair of deuces, a four, a seven, and a nine. The Englishman with a triumphant smile put down his full hand, and proceeded to gather up the stakes. "Stop," said the Yankee; "the stakes are mine; yours is only a full hand, mine is a 'Colley Thumper'; it beats everything." The Englishman had never heard of such a hand before, but he determined not to show his ignorance, and reluctantly relinquished the stakes. The game then proceeded until at length the Englishman found himself in possession of a pair of deuces, a four, a seven, and a nine. Betting went on freely until the stakes were raised to £500. The Englishman again called, and the Yankee put down a straight. "Ah," said the joyful Englishman, "Mine is a 'Colley Thumper.'" "True," said the American; "but you forget the rules. It only counts once in an evening."



## APPENDIX

LETTER *to the* SECRETARY BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA  
SELECT COMMITTEE *appointed by the* HOUSE OF  
COMMONS.

40 WEYMOUTH STREET,  
PORTLAND PLACE, W.,  
*March 30th, 1897.*

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your request that I should give some account of my connection with the Reform Movement in Johannesburg, I may state that I became a member of the Reform Committee at the end of last year, and was subsequently imprisoned and fined with the rest of that body in Pretoria..

I was actuated in joining the movement—not so much from a sense of the burdens placed upon the gold mining industry by the Government as by a desire to obtain some liberal instalment of reform, and if possible a remodelling of the constitution of the country—especially dealing with the Franchise, Education, and the Courts of Justice.

I was for some years in medical practice in Johannesburg with no special desire nor leisure for public work ; but I was placed upon the Council of Education and other public committees, and thus came gradually to realise the

hopelessness, by simply constitutional means, of obtaining redress from the Government.

Resolutions at public meetings embodying civil requests to the Government were not even vouchsafed an answer, e.g. the combined meeting of the Chambers of Commerce and of Mines in September, 1895.

Petitions were jeered at and deputations insulted.

Under these circumstances I with many others felt some action to be a public duty, and on this ground we joined the Reform Movement.

Should the British South Africa Committee desire to hear my evidence, I will submit a *précis* of such evidence at the earliest opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

ALFRED P. HILLIER, B.A., M.D.

TWO ESSAYS ON THE ANTIQUITY  
OF MAN IN SOUTH AFRICA



## THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND EVOLUTION.

“WHILE we have been straining our eyes to the East, and eagerly watching excavations in Egypt and Assyria, suddenly a new light has arisen in the midst of us ; and the oldest relics of man yet discovered have occurred, not among the ruins of Nineveh or Heliopolis, not on the sandy plains of the Nile, or the Euphrates ; but in the pleasant valleys of England and France, along the banks of the Seine and the Somme, the Thames and the Waveney.” Thus wrote Sir John Lubbock in his *Prehistoric Times* twenty years ago. The “new light,” a very dim and flickering flame at first, was kept burning for several years almost entirely by the zeal and determination of one man, M. Boucher de Perthes. In 1841, this discoverer, at Menchecourt near Abbeville, first found a rudely-fashioned flint buried in some sand. The flint, so he surmised, had been intended for a cutting instrument. For some years in the same neigh-

bourhood he continued searching, and found at intervals several other similar weapons and several so called stone hatchets. At length, in 1846, he published his first work on the subject. In this he announced that he had found human implements in beds unmistakably belonging to the age of the Drift. On the strength of the discovery he contended that man had existed on the earth contemporaneously with many now extinct mammals whose remains are found in the drift, and that the period of man's existence upon the earth must be pushed back far beyond the limits hitherto assigned to it by antiquaries. His astonished readers, with that hostile incredulity which in all times has assailed new truths, regarded him as a rash enthusiast, if not indeed a madman. For many years he made few converts. At length some of the less sceptical men in the scientific world began to investigate the matter for themselves. In their wake followed many others; until at length the verdict, an almost unanimous one, was given. The implements, rude though they seemed, were recognised as of human origin: no process in nature could account for them. Rough and ill shapen they were, but nevertheless unmistakable were the indications of the skill of man.

The co-existence of the makers of these implements with extinct mammals, and the antiquity of



the beds in which the implements were found, still remained, however, to some extent open questions. To these questions—questions of the very deepest interest to the theological, scientific and thinking world generally—geological experts, notably Sir Charles Lyell, now turned their attention. In his work on the “Antiquity of Man” Sir Charles Lyell, in a clear, comprehensive and impartial style, lays before his readers the mass of evidence he has to adduce on this subject. His conclusions, supported as they are by the researches of experts of all nationalities, are to any unbiassed mind convincing. Man’s co-existence in Europe with species of large pachydermatous mammals long since extinct, and at a time when the climate in what are now temperate latitudes was as severe as in Northern Russia to-day, has gradually come to be regarded as a scientific fact. Man’s appearance upon the earth would seem to have occurred, not as was generally supposed a few odd thousand years ago, but at a far more remote period amongst those æons of time, the vastness of which the science of geology has revealed. Prior to the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes it is only fair to say that one or two other discoverers had called attention to similar stone implements, but without avail. M. de Perthes was the first to secure public attention and scientific conviction. After him followed others ; and stone

implements were discovered in several parts of the world.

The age in which stone implements were used by man is that known as the Stone Age, and is divided roughly into two periods, though in some parts of the world the distinction between the two is very uncertain, the one merging imperceptibly into the other. The two periods are: (1) Palæolithic or age of the Drift, "when man shared the possession of Europe with the mammoth, the cave-bear and other extinct mammals." (2.) The later or polished Stone Age; a period characterised by beautiful weapons and instruments made of flint and other kinds of stone; in which, however, we find no trace of the knowledge of any metal, excepting gold, which seems to have been sometimes used for ornaments. This is called the Neolithic Period. It is with the former of these two periods, and with what we believe corresponds with this period in South Africa, that I purpose chiefly to deal in this paper. To this period it is that M. de Perthes' implements from the valley of the Somme belong. As the river drift or alluvium of the Somme valley is peculiarly rich in implements of an antique type, and as in its general appearance and structure it closely resembles numbers of other river valleys in England and France, a brief description of it and its implements culled from the pages

of Lyell and Lubbock will perhaps enable us the better to appreciate the sort of evidence adduced on this subject. The prevailing forms of these implements are : firstly, those of spear-headed form, from 6 to 8 inches in length ; secondly, those of oval form, not unlike some stone implements used to this day as hatchets and tomahawks by the Australian natives, but with this difference, that the edge in the Australian weapons, as in the case of those so called "celts" in Europe, has been produced by friction ; whereas the cutting edge in the old tools of the valley of the Somme was always gained by the simple fracture of the flint, and by the repetition of many dexterous blows. Some of these tools were probably used as weapons both of war and of the chase, others to grub up roots, cut down trees, and scoop out canoes. Between the spear-head and oval shapes there are various intermediate gradations, and there are also a vast variety of very rude implements, many of which may have been rejected as failures, and others struck off as chips in the course of manufacturing the more perfect ones. To describe without the aid of diagrams the structure of the alluvial deposits in the valley of the Somme, in which these implements are found, is not so simple a task as to describe the implements themselves. I will, however, briefly endeavour to make clear the main features. The chalk hills which

bound the valley are 200 or 300 feet in height. The masses of drift or alluvium lie in the bottom of the valley, and on the sides of the hills. For the sake of proceeding from the known to the less known, Lyell makes his survey of these deposits retrospective, and beginning with the most recent, proceeds backwards to the more ancient. Of all these geological monuments, the most recent is the peat. This substance occupies the bottom of the valley from some miles inward to the sea. It is in places 30 feet thick. All the embedded mammalia and shells are recent and belong to species now inhabiting Europe. Gallo-Roman works of art are found in the peat near the surface, and, at a greater depth, Celtic weapons. But the depth at which Roman works of art occur varies in different places, and is no sure test of age; because in some parts the peat being fluid, heavy substances sink in it from their own gravity. In one case M. de Perthes found several large flat dishes of Roman pottery, which, lying in a horizontal position, were prevented from sinking through the underlying peat. Allowing about fourteen centuries for growth of the superincumbent matter, he calculated that the thickness gained in a hundred years would be no more than three French centimetres. This rate of increase, if one could fairly adopt such a chronometric scale, would demand many thousands

of years for the formation of 30 feet. "Small as is the progress hitherto made in interpreting the pages of the peaty record, their importance in the valley of the Somme is enhanced by the reflection that whatever be the number of centuries to which they relate, they belong to times posterior to the ancient implement-bearing beds which we are next to consider, and are even separated from them, as we shall see, by an interval far greater than that which divides the earliest strata of the peat from the latest." Immediately underlying the peat in the bottom of the valley and recumbent on the chalk is a gravel bed, believed to be the most recent of the gravel deposits, formed from the wreck of older gravels to be described presently, and formed during the last hollowing-out and deepening of the valley immediately before the commencement of the growth of peat.

We come now to the implement-bearing deposits, the older gravels formed on the sides of the hills bounding the valley at different heights. The first series of these is found at levels slightly elevated above the present river. The lowest bed of this series in which the implements are found consists of gravel mixed with marl and sand, and contains fresh water, land, and in some of the lower sands marine shells, showing that the river at this part was sometimes gained upon by the sea. This bed is about 12 feet in thickness. Overlying this is

about 15 feet of loam, containing fresh-water and land shells, and the bones of elephants. Of the shells found in this series a small proportion are of extinct species. The species of gravels next described, and the oldest in which flint implements are found, is a series similar in structure to the above, and found at a height *one hundred* feet above the present level of the river. In the fluvial deposits overlying both these gravel beds remains of the mammoth, rhinoceros, and reindeer are found. The age of these implements found in the second or oldest series of gravel is represented by the time which it has taken the river to cut out its channel to the depth of 100 feet, added to the time necessary for the formation of the peat, the age of which has already been alluded to. One striking feature in comparing the relative ages of the peat and the older gravels is, that whereas in the very deepest layers of the former not one single specimen of any extinct species has been found, in the latter a number of extinct species both of shells and of mammals have been discovered. The above is a condensed and brief sketch of this branch of archæology as given by Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock.

In South Africa, as we press northwards among the primitive Bushmen tribes, we find the Stone Age in some measure still existing, though even amongst the wildest tribes it is dying a sure but a lingering

death. Throughout the whole of the Cape Colony, wherever the observant traveller has set foot, stone implements have been found. Some of them, notably those from the Cape flats, the more perfect in form and finish, lie in recent deposits round existing vleys, or lightly buried in sand, probably the products of an age in the immediate past. Others again of more antique and ruder mould are found in deposits, at least in one instance with which we shall shortly deal, as ancient as those which they so much resemble, found on the banks of European rivers. Compared with the carefully accumulated mass of evidence collected in Europe, our stock of evidence is necessarily slight—nevertheless, such as it is, so nearly does it coincide with that more carefully collected evidence in Europe, that we may fairly offer at least a probable interpretation. That interpretation, which we have already somewhat anticipated, may be thus broadly stated. What evidence we have on the subject distinctly goes to show that a Stone Age has existed in South Africa from a period in all human probability as remote, or approximately so, as that from which it existed in Europe; that for ages men in Europe and in South Africa co-existed, using almost identically the same weapons, following closely the same mode of life; finally, that centuries after the genius of the hardy northern tribes, developing

slowly at first, but afterwards more rapidly, had swept away the stony relics of a barbarous age, and placed those tribes on the paths of civilisation and progress, the Stone Age in this southern land continued to exist, and to this day still lingers, dying a hard death in the deserts of the interior.

Having thus ventured, in the hope of more surely enlisting your interest, to offer at the outset the interpretation of what phenomena, what evidence we have to hand, let us turn to the evidence itself. On the Cape flats, at Kimberley, on Modder River, in the Peddie and East London districts, and doubtless in many other parts of the country, stone implements have been found, resembling generally the two leading types from the valley of the Somme, viz., that of the spear-head and oval shape. For directing attention to and collecting these stone implements so abundant in South Africa, we have, as far as I have been able to gather, been principally indebted to Colonel Bowker, Mr. E. J. Dunn, Mr. Mackay of East London, and Sir Langham Dale of Capetown. These implements have been found not merely by twos and threes and as rarities, but in many sites they have been found in abundance. Here, as in Europe, it is usual to find, in addition to more or less well-formed implements of the shapes above described, numerous fragments and abortions—failures we might call them. Stone was plentiful



and ready to hand ; a bad instrument could always be thrown aside without much loss. The mode of forming these implements is pretty obvious. The surface of some hard stone or rock, specially selected for the purpose, had flakes chipped off it by blows probably given by a rounded pebble. In many cases "cores" of hard stone from which flakes have been chipped off are found lying near a collection of implements and fragments. The best formed and probably one of the most modern implements which I have seen, and which is at present in my possession, is one of the spear-headed type found on the Cape flats by Sir Langham Dale. It bears the marks on its surface of numerous successive chippings, and has been shaped with considerably more skill than the ruder weapons of greater antiquity found in old deposits. A very good collection of implements of different shapes and sizes, and from different parts of the colony, may be seen in the Albany Museum at Grahamstown. The interest of stone implements from an archæological point of view, depends, however, more upon the geological evidence in reference to the deposits in which they are found, than upon anything else, as it is by this we are principally enabled to form a probable estimate of their antiquity. With this object, I will now deal with those implements, which, thanks principally to the guidance of one of our silent workers, Mr.

Mackay of East London, I have been enabled to collect myself. Never was there a site better adapted to the wants of primitive man than the mouth of the Buffalo River and its neighbourhood. It is therefore not strange that in this locality abundant evidence of its having been the abode of man from a remote period of time is to be found. A very interesting and carefully constructed map of the locality round the mouth of the river has been prepared by Mr. Mackay, showing the sites of numerous "kitchen-middens," or shell mounds, exactly resembling those "Kjokkenmodding" or ancient kitchen refuse heaps, described by Sir Charles Lyell as relics of the prehistoric age on the shores of Denmark; and further, showing the probable sites of still more ancient habitations in the Stone Age, those spots in fact where stone implements have been found in such abundance as to justify the presumption of the existence of habitations. With reference to the shell mounds so freely scattered round the mouth of the river, I will here merely say that they bear evidence of considerable age; they are buried in many instances under sand and vegetable mould, and are in some cases overgrown with thick bush, only having been discovered by cuttings for railway and other purposes. Nevertheless, whatever the antiquity of these shell mounds, and in some cases it is considerable, we shall

presently see that they came into existence ages after stone implements were first used in this locality.

Turning now to the stone implements themselves, we find that those the antiquity of which, from their position, we are best able to estimate, are found in a well-marked gravel deposit on the western bank of the Buffalo. It lies about half way between Fort Glamorgan and the Post Office, and runs in a well-marked line about 70 feet above the present level of the river and parallel to the present course. It has been exposed in several places by cuttings for roads and by quarryings for building-stone, road-mending, and other purposes. It lies buried under a well-defined layer of black river mud, this being again covered with sand of wind-drifted origin, which in its turn is in places covered by a layer of vegetable mould on which grass and bush were at one time growing. The implements found in this gravel are the types found in the valley of the Somme. They are not, however, made of flint, which substance is nowhere to be found in this district, but of a hard sub-crystalline rock, found in the immediate vicinity of the greenstone dykes so numerous in South Africa. One of these dykes, half a mile in width, which crosses the river obliquely, is traversed by the Buffalo from the "ebb and flow" to the second creek, a distance of about 2 miles. From the second creek the edge of this dyke passes Fort

Glamorgan to Point Hood, so that abundance of this stone is obtainable in the immediate neighbourhood. Several of the implements taken from this gravel have been sent to the Jermyn Street and British Museums ; and their genuineness has been recognised by Sir Roderick Murchison and Sir J. Lubbock. The rock from which these implements have been flaked off is not only extremely hard, a property which gives to the implements their sharp cutting edges, but is tough and durable ; and for these qualities it was selected by the troops as material for building Fort Glamorgan and the Commissariat Stores. These buildings have now been in existence forty years. The weather-exposed surface on the stones in these buildings is as fresh in colour, the merest scratch with the chisel as clear, and every edge as sharp, as if the buildings had been completed yesterday. The implements made of this same stone have lost all semblance of their original colour, their edges are blunted, they have an outer decomposed crust one-sixth of an inch in thickness. The implements are found scattered throughout the whole line of gravel whenever it is exposed. At the time when this line was the river's edge, as we shall presently see we have good reason to believe it once was, these implements were probably dropped on or near the bank, and were subsequently washed and rolled into their present position along

with the surrounding gravel. In some instances they have evidently been manufactured and left on the very spot where they are now found. "Cores" of blocks from which weapons have been flaked off have in several cases both by Mr. Mackay and myself been found surrounded, not indeed by well-formed implements which would naturally be carried off by the maker, but by numerous fragments and ill-formed weapons which were probably thrown aside as useless. It is not irrational to suppose that the water's edge with its open stony margin would afford a convenient site to which the savage hunter might bring his block, and hammer off with the aid of stones and pebbles his uncouth weapons. But, however that may be, whether dropped by accident or left by design, there in their gravel bed they lay, until in due course a black muddy deposit, of from 1 to 3 feet in thickness, covered them in.

That this gravel line, now so far above the river, was once the river's edge, is, from its nature, position, and appearance, as well as from the history of similar old gravel deposits on the banks of carefully explored European rivers, almost a matter of certainty. But for further evidence bearing on this subject let us turn to the configuration of the sea coast near the river's mouth. Assuming that then as now the river was tidal at this point, and that this gravel line, now so far above the tidal level,

was then the river's edge, we are left to the conclusion, either that the coast has been raised or that the sea has receded. The evidence afforded by a study of the coast itself affirms this conclusion. To the south-western side of the mouth of the river the land runs out into a rocky low-lying promontory, the termination of the large ironstone dyke already alluded to, and known as Point Hood. High-water level all round this point is at present marked by a line of huge rounded boulders, and rising above this line are no less than three other well-marked lines of similar boulders, each line undoubtedly showing the level at which the sea once stood. The highest of these tiers of boulders lies about 30 feet above the present sea level. Following round the coast in this direction, immediately beyond Point Hood, stretches a wide open vale some 20 feet above sea level. All over the surface of this vale marine shells are found, and there can be little doubt that it is the site of an ancient bay. Assuming that the sea once stood at the level of the highest tier of boulders on the Point, this vale, now divided from the beach by a series of low wind-drifted sandhills, would have been submerged. The marine shells found on its surface, taken together with the fact that the low sand-hills which now divide it from the beach are of more recent date than those larger masses which line the coast beyond, justify the conclusion that it was so.

Clear and distinct evidence that the sea has at one time stood some 30 feet above its present level is thus to be found by the most superficial observer. But as the gravel line representing the river's ancient edge near its present mouth is 70 feet above that level, a somewhat interesting geological question arises: Was this portion of the river at the time when it stood at this high level tidal, or was it not possibly a land-locked reach of the river, with the river's mouth lying some distance further out than it now does? Either of these conditions would account for the gravel bed, and its superincumbent layer of mud; but, as I have above stated, such indications as we have been enabled to find incline me to take the former view, viz., that then as now the river was tidal at this point. It is true that above the 30 feet level of boulders at Point Hood there is no such clear evidence of the sea's former presence, but some is nevertheless to be found. The topmost tier of boulders is already partially buried in sand and soil, and from this point the land rises more gradually. In an artificial cutting made some few hundred yards from the beach, and standing some 70 feet above the present sea level, distinct traces of a buried layer of rounded boulders are to be found, boulders in all respects resembling those on the beach.

Still, whichever view be the correct one, a point

which further investigation may yet decide, the broad fact remains, that from the time when the river stood at the height of this gravel line it has gradually worn away the present channel. To accomplish this has been no slight, nor short-lived task, for we have already seen that for two miles the tidal portion of the river runs through a large greenstone dyke. This igneous greenstone rock is one of the hardest in existence; nevertheless, since the time when the river stood at the old gravel line it has worn away its channel through this rock to the depth of 70 feet. To sum up a tolerably clear case. The age of the stone implements found in this gravel bed may fairly be computed to be that period of time which has elapsed since this bed was the river's edge, a period which has consisted of the time necessary to allow the river through 70 feet of solid greenstone rock slowly to wear away for itself its present channel. To estimate the period of time necessary for such a change as this is as difficult as to estimate the time which has elapsed since man shared a half-frozen Europe with the woolly-haired rhinoceros and the mammoth. Taken in connection with the geological evidence, however, there is one other point which is of great interest in assisting us to form some rough idea of the great antiquity of these implements.

The shell mounds found round the mouth of the



Buffalo are in many instances situated close to the river banks. Sections of some of these mounds have been made in cuttings for roads and for the railway, thus exposing their structure, and affording every facility for their investigation. They consist of sand, shells, and bones of animals, while scattered through them are found rude pieces of pottery. Large hearth-stones surrounded by ashes have been found in one or two instances. The largest of these mounds, situated on the eastern bank of the river, is of considerable magnitude. It has been cut completely through, and amidst the *débris* a human skull was found, and subsequently given to me by Mr. Mackay. It is a small round skull, with a low contracted brow, and is of great thickness. It is like the skull of a Bushman or Hottentot, and in all probability is the skull of an individual of one of these races, or of some race very nearly allied to them. These shell mounds very closely resemble the shell mounds, "Kjokken-moddings," or kitchen refuse heaps, found on the shores of Denmark, but they differ in one important particular. The shell mounds in Denmark contain a considerable number of polished stone-cutting implements; the mounds round the mouth of the Buffalo have, although carefully explored, yielded nothing but bone implements, no cutting-stone weapons of any sort having been discovered. The

mounds differ considerably in size, and although similar in structure some are evidently more recent than others. The largest, and in all probability the oldest, is the large mound on the eastern bank, from which the skull was taken. As this mound shows a vertical section throughout its entire depth, and as it possesses several features of interest, we will briefly consider it. It originally formed a mound some 300 feet long and 25 feet high, standing on the slope which runs down from the signal hill to the river. Quarrying in connection with the harbour works was the original cause of its being cut through. The portion nearest the river was entirely removed. The inner portion is still remaining, and shows the vertical section above alluded to. The topmost layer consists of shells, bones, ashes, etc. A layer some two or three feet in thickness is covered by three feet of sand and vegetable earth, on which thick bush is now growing. In fact the whole of the mound was completely covered with thick bush, there being no sign of its existence until the cutting was made. Besides shells, hearth-stones, ashes and bits of pottery, bones of the elephant and hippopotamus, as well as those of smaller animals and fish, have been found. Most of the larger bones have been split open, probably for the sake of their marrow. Below the topmost layer of shells another layer of

sand some two feet in thickness exists, separating the top layer from the shells immediately below. After the second layer, although in places there seems to be an interstratification of sand, the separation of the layer of shells is not so distinctly marked, and towards the centre they all seem to form one block. In this mound a very well-formed bone implement, some four inches in length, was found. It is spindle-shaped, with a point at one end and a blunt square termination at the other. It might have been used as the head of a small spear. Besides the hearth-stones and some large shapeless stones with fire marks in their immediate neighbourhood, there is one other kind of stone found, and one which has evidently been artificially shaped. It is like the half of a rounded pebble. The flat or rather slightly concave surface is perfectly smooth, and has obviously been brought into this condition by friction. Mr. Mackay is of opinion that these stones were used for dressing skins of animals with. In accordance with this interpretation we may call the one stone implement hitherto found in these mounds the "rubbing stone." The evidence as to the age of this mound all points to its being considerable. No one can stand opposite the vertical section, and note the accumulation of sand and vegetable earth, with thick bush ten feet high growing on its surface, without this idea forcing

itself upon him. Yet before the bush could have begun to grow, sand and earth drifted by the wind had covered in the abandoned mound to the depth of several feet. Grass and bush have crept over its surface and the whole mound has thus been completely buried and hidden for how many years no one can say. Moreover, the accumulation of this mass of *débris* 300 feet long and 25 feet high was in itself the work of no brief space of time. The outer margin of the mound at its base was within a few feet of the river's edge before this portion of it was removed ; so that when the original founders first made their homes upon this spot the river cannot have stood at any appreciably higher level than it does now ; hence, whatever the age of this mound, and no unprejudiced observer will deny that it is considerable, it is but a thing of yesterday compared to the antiquity of those implements left on the water's edge when the river stood 70 feet higher than it now does, or than it did when the foundation shell of this huge mound was laid.

It is not on an isolated case of this sort, but on a collection of such cases more or less similar from different parts of the world, that the claim to the high antiquity of man upon the earth is made by scientific men. To state the actual age of the old implement-bearing bed on the bank of the Buffalo is beyond our power. But while on this point I

cannot refrain from quoting Sir Charles Lyell on the probable age of the oldest implement-bearing gravel of the Somme. In doing so I do not wish to claim for the opinion, any more than the author would himself, anything but a certain speculative value. Yet from the most brilliant geologist the world has yet known, even a speculative opinion of this sort must have some weight. Sir Charles Lyell, on data which we have not here space to discuss, estimated the age of the Mississippi Delta as being about 100,000 years; and he considered that "the alluvium of the Somme containing flint implements and the remains of the mammoth and hyæna" was no less ancient. Whatever the antiquity of the oldest Somme implements may be, there can be little doubt that those forming the oldest implement-bearing beds of the Buffalo are fully as old, if indeed, as there are good reasons for believing, they are not considerably older. For while the Somme, a large constantly flowing river, has had a chalk formation through which to cut its bed, the Buffalo, with a stream not one-twentieth part its volume, has had to wear its way through two miles of solid greenstone rock. To cut a channel to the depth of 70 feet under the latter set of circumstances is on the face of it a far greater task than to cut one to the depth of 100 feet under the former.

Such then is the history of these implements as

far as I have been able to interpret it. For such opinions as I have offered I have endeavoured as clearly as possible to furnish full data, while my motive throughout has been a desire to arrive at a true understanding of the question, rather than to support any particular theory. But, looking to the laborious researches of scientific men in Europe on this question, to the lucid exposition of the subject by Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock, and lastly to the startling parallel between the position of the South African implements and those found in the ancient gravels of the Somme, two broad conclusions with reference to them are forced upon us: firstly, that they are undoubtedly the handiwork of man; secondly, that they belong to an age of high and remote antiquity. Admitting then the high antiquity of man upon the earth, in what way does it affect that vast problem of evolution as applied to the origin of man? To this question Darwin himself makes answer. He says in his introduction to *The Descent of Man*:—"The high antiquity of man has recently been demonstrated by the labours of a lot of eminent men, beginning with M. Boucher de Perthes, and this is the indispensable basis for understanding his origin." The crudeness of design and rudeness of execution of the older stone implements often excites the ridicule of the curiosity critic. But what degree of

skill would he be inclined to attribute to the forefathers of the Bushmen or Australian aborigines 20,000 years ago? Prof. Huxley, one of the greatest authorities on Biology, has expressed it as his opinion that the remains of the immediate progenitors of man will eventually be found in the pliocene or even in the miocene strata. In several parts of the world by different geologists the post-pliocene formations have been estimated to be considerably over 200,000 years old. Taking these opinions, then, with, as far as it goes, the confirmatory evidence of the Stone Age, we may fairly assume that in all probability man's immediate progenitors existed upon the earth considerably over 200,000 years ago. Amongst Englishmen, the third generation of descendants from any son of the soil is considered capable of producing under favourable circumstances the most polished courtier. I therefore trust that 200,000 years will be sufficient to remove the prejudices of the most fastidious as to their ancestors at that period.

Some time ago an interesting paper on the "Races of South Africa and the Question of Evolution" was read to the Eastern Province Literary and Scientific Society by the Bishop of Grahamstown, and was subsequently published in the *Grahamstown Journal*. The question of how far the facts, adduced in reference to these races,

bear upon the question of evolution, is treated by the Bishop in a spirit of fairness and moderation. In fact, on this great problem he expresses himself as in accord with the Duke of Argyll when he says "that the difficulties involved by evolution are more scientific than theological." With this liberal avowal the Bishop proceeds to deal with the question in a critical manner. In reference to these races he says: "Two answers may clearly be given when we are asked how we account for the South African races as they meet us here. First, we may say that they have been developed from beneath, having been during all their period of humanity from the beginning utter savages, with a suspicion that in some types we may alight upon specimens not far removed from the "missing link"; or, secondly, we may reply that we have good ground for the conclusion that they have been evolved by degradation and degeneration from a higher estate in the scale of humanity." The Bishop then states that his observation has led him to favour the latter hypothesis. To my mind neither of these answers fully meets the case; while the rejection of the one surely does not, as the Bishop would apparently imply, involve the acceptance of the other. There is probably a measure of truth in both. The answer I should make would be that the evidence hitherto collected on the subject seems to point to



the conclusion that the Bushmen are the true aboriginal inhabitants of Central and Southern Africa, while the numerous Kaffir races have migrated from more northern latitudes, destroying and driving before them the feebler aboriginal tribes. A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to showing that numerous Kaffir races have probably come in successive tides of migration from some more northern part of the continent, probably from the north-east. That tides of migration have swept southwards across the continent, at any rate, during the last 100 years is almost a matter of history; and there is doubtless evidence of this movement having gone on for some time previous to that. The Arab strain in some of the Kaffirs seems strongly marked. That these races may also to some extent have degenerated, looking to numerous similar instances in history, is possible; though the evidence in favour of this view adduced by the Bishop, even if it had all the significance which he attaches to it, would only point to a position but slightly inferior to their present one. The evidence on this point which he considers of the greatest value is that afforded by their language. He says: "Instead of the languages of these uncivilised races being in a state of development towards fulness and complexity, we find the tendency of the language is to *degenerate*, to get

worn down, simplifying conjugations and losing inflexions." Surely the inflexional decay of a language, a stage through which all languages pass to a greater or less extent, is no sign of the *degeneration* of that language. It is, as I understand, the science of language, a stage in development rather than in degeneration. On Darwin's speculations as to the probable origin of language the Bishop is somewhat severe. After quoting a few extracts from Darwin's speculation on this subject, he says: "It is curious to quote the very hypothetical tone of this enunciation of his theory, 'probably,' 'might have,' 'does not appear altogether incredible.' *We search in vain for data in support of it. Dr. Darwin gives us none.*" As the most distinguishing quality of Darwin's vast luminous mind is his careful impartiality and studious avoidance of overstating anything, his hypothetical tone on this question is not to be wondered at. The data in support of Darwin's views as to the probable origin of language are given in his third chapter of the *Descent of Man*.

But returning to the wider question of evolution, let us admit for the sake of argument, not only that the great mass of Kaffir races have come from some centre in the northern portion of Africa, but that they have in some measure degenerated. How does this fact bear upon evolution? As far as I

can see it has little or nothing to do with it. The whole history of the human race has been one of migrations ; and instances of retrogression have not been wanting. Still, looking to the great mass of mankind, as far as we know its history from the earliest times, the broad tendency has been to travel forward like a rising tide, on the wide paths of development and progress. The case of the Bushmen still remains to be considered. That they are the descendants of any really higher race is a hypothesis with absolutely nothing to support it. According to Theal their condition when the Dutch first came to the country 200 years ago was very much what it is to-day, certainly no better. Without stock of any kind, without agriculture, dependent on their knowledge of roots and herbs, which like that of monkeys is considerable, and on what carrion they can find or what animals they can kill, they eke out a miserable existence. The words of Æschylus in writing of primitive man seem most applicable :—

But first, though seeing, they did not perceive,  
And hearing heard not rightly. But like forms  
Of phantom dreams throughout their life's whole length,  
They muddled all at random ; did not know  
Houses of brick that catch the sunlight's warmth,  
Nor yet the worth of carpentry. They dwelt  
In hollowed holes like swarms of tiny ants,  
In sunless depths of caverns.

Their knowledge of painting is certainly a curious

and in some respects a redeeming trait in their character ; but that it is evidence of any previous higher condition I cannot see. Without cattle, crops, or even houses, it would be curious indeed if, possessed of any human intelligence at all, it should not find expression in something. Regarding the Bushmen, and probably also the Hottentots, as the aborigines of the country, it is not unreasonable, taken with the discovery of the skull in the East London shell mound, to regard them as the lineal descendants of the men of the Shell Mound Age in this country ; very probably also of the older Stone Age. The pigmy races of Africa, of which the Bushmen are a branch, are at the present moment attracting a good deal of attention. Stanley's description of the numbers which inhabit the great forest show them to be very widespread in the interior. There can be little doubt, moreover, that these same pigmy races were known both to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Still, whatever the origin and history of the pigmy races may be, no rational student of evolution would contend that the difference between the highest ape and lowest Bushman is, scientifically speaking, a slight one.

The evidences of the existence of the progenitors of man on the earth, as I have endeavoured to point out, are not to be looked for a few hundred years back, but hundreds of thousands of years ago,

Evidence of the remote antiquity of man in this country we have fully discussed. We have seen that it points to his existence here many thousand years ago, when his implements were ruder than the lowest Bushman uses now; for the only stone implement of the Bushman of to-day of which I can find any authoritative record, is the rounded digging stone with a hole in the centre, used for weighting sticks with in digging up roots. Livingstone in his *Last Journals*, after making special enquiry as to the use of the implements, only mentions the "digging-stone" among the Bushmen, and stones used as sledge hammers and anvils in the forging of iron amongst other tribes. I have also consulted such works on African travel as I have been able to obtain by Stanley, Cameron, Pinto, Grant, Schweinfurth, and Du Chaillu on this point, but can find no record of stone hatchets being in use now. The lowest Bushman is thus in all probability in a stage of development considerably beyond that of the men of the old Stone Age. For how long even before the old Stone Age period man in some type may have existed no one can say. But to put the most moderate construction on this evidence as to man's high antiquity upon the earth, it is just what we should expect to find were the evolution theory as to his origin the true one, and as far as it goes it is confirmatory of that theory.

PRE-HISTORIC MAN  
AND THE  
PARALLELISM IN DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN THE  
PRIMITIVE RACES OF EUROPE AND THE  
NATIVE RACES OF AFRICA

THE knowledge of pre-historic man has been greatly increased and almost revolutionised during the last fifty years by the aid of the comparatively young science, Geology. What is known is indeed little enough, but it at least establishes man's contemporaneous existence with many now extinct animals, and at a time when the geography and climate of Europe were very different from what they are to-day; when the silver streak had not crept in between England and France, which in historic times has played such an important part in the history of the British race. Geology has also shown that through the long pre-historic ages of man's existence on the earth his condition was always gradually changing, in Europe through stone, bronze and iron ages, and in nearly all other explored

parts of the world, at least through stone and iron ages. These changes are slow indeed compared to the march of intellect through historic times, but very appreciable from a geological and archæological standpoint. Let us then for a short time consider the history of this new science Geology, imperfect and crude though it still be, which has wrought so momentous a change in the general ideas of human origin on the earth, and of the whole history of human thought.

Who shall tell what did befall,  
 Far away in time when once  
 Over the lifeless ball  
 Hung idle stars and suns?  
 What god the element obeyed?  
 Wings of what wind the lichen bore,  
 Wafting the puny seeds of power,  
 Which, lodged in rocks, the rocks abrade.

—EMERSON.

In the middle of the last century, curiously enough, we find Voltaire, in his hostility to revealed religions, scornfully ridiculing all that was then known of fossils, because they were regarded as evidence of the deluge. "Are we sure," he enquired, "that the soil of the earth can produce fossils?" "One never," he says elsewhere, "sees among them true marine substances." And more in this strain. But not so long afterwards the great German poet and thinker, Goethe, with a deeper insight than Voltaire, felt that these fossils *were* records of the history of the past

not to be lightly cast aside. Writing in his autobiography of Voltaire, he says: "When I now learned that to weaken the tradition of a deluge he had denied all petrified shells, and only admitted them as '*lusus naturæ*,' he entirely lost my confidence, for my own eyes had on the Baschberg plainly enough shown me that I stood on the bottom of an old dried up sea, among the *exuviæ* of its ancient inhabitants. These mountains had certainly once been covered with waves, whether before or during the deluge did not concern me; it was enough that the Valley of the Rhine had been a monstrous lake, a bay extending beyond the reach of eyesight; out of this I was *not* to be talked. I thought much more of advancing in the knowledge of lands and mountains, let what would be the result."

Coming from a man in the eighteenth century, these words are of great interest. They seem to breathe the very spirit of modern science. Since, these words were written, the knowledge of lands and mountains, and the buried history they contain, have advanced with rapid strides.

To attempt in ever so brief a manner to give a sketch of the revelations of geology would be beyond our scope. We will merely take some of the leading truths which have been brought to light, and note the wide effect they have had on the thought and culture of their day. Geology, if such knowledge of



the subject as existed a little over a hundred years ago is worthy of the name, from having in those days been adduced as evidence of a universal deluge, has come in later days to be taken as overwhelming testimony to the fact that no such *universal* deluge ever occurred: Forty years ago that doughty Scotch Free Churchman, Hugh Miller, while being a staunch supporter of his religion and of his church, maintained that the idea of a universal deluge, and of a creation which lasted six days of twenty-four hours each, could, in the face of the revelations of geology, no longer be maintained. The six days he maintained were periods extending over ages, the deluge and the consequent destruction of animal life were both of a local character. In fact, he goes so far as to attempt to show how, in a portion of Asia, by what he terms an "economy of miracle," this deluge might have been brought about.

The evolution theory deals with the origin and course of existence of vegetable and animal life upon the globe ; but, before we give any attention to this or any other theory, let us endeavour, as far as we can, briefly to enumerate what leading facts with regard to the existence of living forms upon the earth the science of geology has brought to light.

From the most remote ages, in fact in the very earliest stratified or sedimentary rocks, remains of low organic life, both vegetable and animal, are

found thus establishing the antiquity of organic life upon the globe. Ascending in the series of stratified deposits, higher forms of life, both vegetable and animal, are discovered, until fish, reptiles, birds and mammals, are all found co-existing. The most striking feature in fossil remains, perhaps, is the change in the species which is found in successive formations. While some few species, especially among the shells, remain unchanged from remote down to present times, the great majority of species exist through a few formations and then die out, being replaced by other closely allied species. So widely indeed is this fact recognised that in the popular mind the one epithet which can safely be applied to a fossil is the word "extinct."

Of all the records of her past which the earth has to reveal to the patient student of nature, none are more enduring, none more vast, none more profoundly interesting than this imperishable history of the myriads of living forms which have had their brief day in the ages that are gone. On the weather-beaten cliff, on the rocks worn by the endless turmoil of the sea, or where "the wild water" of an inland lake "laps upon the crag," there to him who seeks will some fragment of this history appear.

And well the primal pioneer  
Knew the strong task to it assigned,  
Patient through Heaven's enormous year  
To build in matter home for mind.

Towards the close of the series of these vast silent records, graven in stone for all time, we come on the first traces of man. To better comprehend what these series of records are, we may consider them as being roughly divided into those of three phases of life upon the earth.

*The first, or Primary*, in which are found fishes, amphibians, and towards the top of the series some few reptiles.

*The Secondary Age*, in which reptiles had the mastery, walking on the land as great flesh and vegetable feeders, flying in the air as huge reptilian bats, and swimming in the sea and rivers in various forms. Also reptilian birds with teeth in their beaks. This age is of special interest to us, inasmuch as the greater portion of the sedimentary rocks of South Africa belong to it, and have furnished many hitherto unknown species of huge, as well as of smaller, reptilian forms.

*The third, or Tertiary Age*.—In this age the mammalia first appear gradually taking their place as masters on land and sea, displacing the reptiles. The birds lose their reptilian characters.

Of these phases of life Boyd-Dawkins, in his work on *Early Man in Britain*, very truly says: "The succession of living forms has been uninterrupted, although from errors of observation, as well as from the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it appears

to be broken. Each break may be likened to places from which pages, or chapters, or whole volumes, as the case may be, have been torn out from the record by the hand of time, or not yet discovered by man."

The Tertiary Period is the one which most nearly interests us, and it has been divided into the following six stages :—

- I. Eocene*, or that in which the mammalia now on the earth were represented by allied forms of species extinct but belonging to existing orders and families.
- II. Miocene*, in which the alliance between the living and fossil mammals is more close than before.
- III. Pliocene*, in which the living species of mammals begin to appear.
- IV. Pleistocene*, in which the living species are more abundant than the extinct. Man appears.
- V. Pre-historic*, in which domestic animals and cultivated fruits appear, and man has multiplied exceedingly upon the earth.
- VI. Historic*, in which events are recorded in history.

The point of peculiar interest in this table, in regard to the origin of man upon the earth, is, that

in the stage preceding the one in which man appears, namely, the Pleiocene, existing species of other mammals are rare in comparison with the number of extinct forms, and only, as it were, begin to show themselves.

In the Pleistocene, where man appears, while the number of extinct species is still large, living species become more numerous, and even exceed the extinct species. In the two succeeding ages, with a few exceptions, all the species found are still living.

It will thus be seen that traces of man are found, in the first instance, in precisely the position, from a palæontological point of view, which on the doctrine of evolution he would be expected to occupy. He appears, that is for the first time, contemporaneously with several of the higher species of existing mammals. Of the nature of the evidence in the shape of stone implements, which is found in the Pleistocene age in Europe, I dealt at some length in the foregoing paper entitled *The Antiquity of Man in South Africa and Evolution*. In this paper, before going on to consider the social condition of man in pre-historic times, and the overlap of history, I should like briefly to refer to some human bones found in relation with some of the stone weapons.

“In 1869 a portion of a skull was found at Eginshiem, near Colmar, by M. Faudel, along with

mammoth and other animals, in the loam, proving that the paleolithic hunter in the upper Rhine possessed a skull of the long type. In the following year in the valley of the Seine, a human skull and bones were obtained by M. Eugene Bertrand from a gravel pit, underneath undisturbed strata of loam, sand, and gravel, at a depth of 5.45 metres, along with the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, horse, ox, and stag."

The men of the Stone Age in Europe have been divided into "Men of the River Drift," and "Men of the Caves."

*Man of the River Drift* was a poor nomad hunter, poorly equipped for the struggle of life, with no knowledge of metals, or even of grinding his stone weapons.

Boyd-Dawkins describes some interesting deposits in the old gravels of the river Wily, in Wiltshire, near Salisbury, 100 feet above the river's present bed, where, with the rudest forms of stone weapons, are found many bones of mammalia.

He says :

"In the spring, summer, and autumn, there were stags, bisons, uri, horses, pouched marmosets, woolly rhinoceroses, and mammoths, and in the depth of winter, lemmings, reindeer, and musk sheep. Wild boars were in the woodlands and hares in the glades. The hunter had, however, formidable beasts of prey,

the lion and the spotted hyæna, as his competitors in the chase."

Traces of man in this stage with only the very rudest implements have, as I pointed out in my last paper, been found in great abundance in South Africa. Indeed, man in this stage was spread over vast portions of the globe, and existed in this condition for a very great length of time, a greater length of time probably than all the subsequent stages of his existence put together. We are unable to refer the men of this time to any branch of the human race now living, and they are as extinct in Asia as in Europe, as extinct as their contemporary, the woolly-haired rhinoceros.

*The Cave Men*, found in old buried rock shelters throughout Europe, used stone implements of a more advanced type than the old hunters of the river drift. These caves and shelters in the rocks were probably places of periodic resort, similar to certain resorts used by the Eskimos in certain seasons of the year at the present day.

Many of the Bushmen caves of this country are splendid examples of what, with a few trifling modifications, the caves of the ancient cave-dwellers were like; and from these Bushmen caves some good specimens of the higher types of stone weapons have been obtained. Dr. Kannemeyer, of Burghersdorp, has an excellent collection. Some striking

carvings on bones and ivory have been obtained from the old European caves, and we all know the Bushman's passion for drawing and even painting on the rocks the various animals with which he was surrounded. At Klipfontein, a farm owned by the Hon. William Ross on the Vaal River, are some wonderful carvings on the rocks round the fountain. I was able readily to recognise the elephant, ostrich, giraffe, wildebeeste, hartebeeste, blesbok and koodoo, all cut out on the solid rock.

From the River Drift and Cave Men we pass on to the men of the *Neolithic* Age ; that is, men using highly polished stone weapons, appearing after Britain was separated from the Continent, and bringing with them some live stock and some knowledge of cultivation. In this age, also, we find the shell mounds in Denmark, and the lake dwellings in Switzerland, both phases of life represented in Africa. Round the coast of South Africa we have numerous shell mounds, partially buried, and undoubtedly old habitations, containing, at any rate in some cases which I carefully explored, and described in my last paper, polished stones used in dressing skins, ashes, split bones, and other unmistakable evidence of human origin. Again, in some of the lake regions of the interior of Africa are found tribes living in lake dwellings, constructed on piles driven into the lake bottom, almost identical



with the ancient lake dwellings of Switzerland. In the Neolithic Age in Britain, and on the Continent, men first adopted the custom of burying their dead, and from the old barrows or tombs of that age human skeletons of a distinct type and in considerable numbers are found. They are skeletons of men of small stature, averaging about five feet three inches in height, with long, or what is known as the "dolicocephalic," type of skull. Numbers of these skeletons have been investigated by Thurnam, Huxley, Burk, Virchow, and others, and they have come to the conclusion that the race to which they belong is still to be numbered among the living races of Europe. There can be little doubt from examination of numbers of skeletons from Basque cemeteries that they are identical with the Iberian race of history,—a race most nearly represented to-day by the Basque tribes dwelling in and near the Pyrenees. This identification by Huxley and others of the neolithic with the Basque races has received most interesting and unexpected support from the philological researches of the Abbé Inchauspé into the dialects of the Pyrenees. He points out that the Basque names for cutting tools are as follows:—

Axe is aizcora ; composed of aitz-aitza, a stone ; gora, high, lifted up ; pick is aizurra, aitz, and urra to tear in sunder, that is, a stone to tear in sunder the earth ; knife is aizttoa—aitz, and ttoa little, little stone.

Thus, where the anatomical evidence as to the identity of the race is strongest, or where the aboriginal population is presumably in its greatest purity, distinct traces of the Stone Age are found in the language.

After the Iberic came the Celtic race, and with the Celtic race came the bronze weapons, the Celts driving out or subduing the old Iberic races in Gaul, Spain, and, finally, in Britain. In all these countries weapons of the Bronze Age, a comparatively short era, are found. The typical weapon of the Bronze Age is the axe. During this age the axe, so important in the dawn of civilisation, went through three stages. The first was that in which the axe was simply let as a wedge into the handle. Of this type we have a splendid example in the iron axes used by the Mashonas to-day. In the second stage, a flange was fashioned on the axe to minimise the splitting effect on the handle. The third stage is that where the handle is let into the head as in the modern axe. This was developed in the Iron Age in Europe.

To the Bronze Age belong the circular stone temples found at Stonehenge, in Wiltshire, and scattered over Europe and Asia. After the Bronze came the Iron Age, extending over the later portion of pre-historic and the whole of historic times.

During the heroic age in Greece iron was still

a rare metal, and Homer describes his heroes as fighting with weapons of bronze. In the time of Hesiod, who lived 850 B.C., iron had superseded bronze, though bronze long remained in use for helmets and shields, and remains to-day for ornamental purposes. Overlapping the pre-historic ages in Northern Europe were the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Assyria, Etruria, Phœnicia and Greece. How ancient these civilisations are we sometimes overlook. The history of Egypt begins with the reign of Menes about 4,000 B.C., and is thus more than three times as old as that of Britain. The modernness of the dominant races of the earth to-day is ably described by Boyd-Dawkins, who says: "When we reflect that the history of Gaul begins in the seventh, and that of Britain in the first century before Christ, and when we consider further that the civilisation of Egypt dates back to more than 4,000 B.C., it must appear obvious that the historical overlap is very great. It is very probable that a large portion of northern Europe was in the Neolithic Age, while the scribes were compiling their records in the great cities on the banks of the Nile, and that the neolithic civilisation lingered in remote regions while the voice of Pericles was heard in Athens, or the name of Hannibal was a terror in Italy."

It is of great interest that the latest ruins discovered in South Africa, namely, those of Zimbabye,

recently explored by Mr. Bent, are believed to belong to one of these ancient civilisations, probably the Assyrian or Phœnician, and the fact goes far to establish the theory that in Mashonaland we have the Ophir of the Old Testament.

The whole continent of Africa undoubtedly possesses the most interesting facts in connection with the study of the origin and history of man's existence on the earth, and illustrates most strikingly the parallelism of the lines of development in the early stages of his existence. There are traces of men of the River Drift Age, Cave-dwellers and Lake-dwellers, the Shell Mound, and early Iron Ages, all to be found in Africa. And indeed there are still races living who to-day are cave-dwellers, as some of the Bushmen; certain central African tribes who are lake-dwellers—and the interior Bantu tribes who are in the early Iron Age. The historical overlap in Africa is greater than anywhere else, for, while it possesses the oldest civilisation and history in Egypt, there still linger in the south and central regions those pigmy races, the lowest known type of humanity, only just emerging from the Stone Age.



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